

THE LIFE
OF
THE MARQUIS OF DALHOUSIE, K.T.



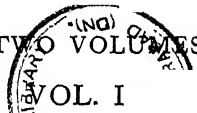


Lord Dalhousie.
from the engraving by W. Robinson after G. Richmond

The Life
of
The Marquis of Dalhousie
K.T.

BY
SIR WILLIAM LEE-WARNER, K.C.S.I.

IN TWO VOLUMES
VOL. I



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TO
HIS MAJESTY KING EDWARD VII.
EMPEROR OF INDIA

I AM PERMITTED TO DEDICATE THIS RECORD
OF A NOBLE LIFE-FAITHFULLY SPENT
IN THE SERVICE
OF
QUEEN VICTORIA.

PREFACE

WHILE the Marquis of Dalhousie administered the affairs of India he held captive the imagination of his own countrymen and of the various races of that empire. The lapse of half a century since he quitted her shores has served to place his brilliant achievements in still clearer light on the skyline of our nation's history. Yet, owing to several causes, the story of his strenuous and eventful life has hitherto been told under peculiar difficulties. The journals of his time were filled with incorrect reports, which he cared not to contradict, and with the distorted accounts of those whom he had offended by his reforms or his official rebukes. For he lived in the heated atmosphere of controversy, and the friends of abuses which he had the courage to sweep away, or the adherents of the Commanders-in-Chief or the Residents with whom he had differences of opinion, rushed into print with eager criticism. Against such attacks his personal dignity of character forbade any attempt to justify himself in the public press. Accordingly, historians and biographers have at times been misled by accounts of events taken from the Indian newspapers. When he passed into private life the

storm of the mutiny burst over the scene of his labours, and a torrent of passionate feeling descended upon his head. Then, if his health had permitted him, he would have taken his place in the House of Lords, and boldly spoken for himself. But he had been so sore stricken in the service of his country that he was condemned to silence, and he could take no part in public life. The sense of duty done alone brought solace in those hours of fiery trial. Sir Charles Wood once wrote to the Governor-General: "I admire more the *robur et æs triplex* with which you carry on your affairs in spite of the press. But what a trial of patience and temper it must be." Lord Dalhousie replied: "I will make no reply, and enter into no controversy with the press, and I wish no one to do it for me"; and he added that in the case of a public functionary it was his duty to wait until official papers were produced in Parliament. He looked to time to prove the character of his work, and desired neither literary skill nor the tender hand of friendship to adorn his public actions.

Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
Tempus eget.

Many of his official despatches have already been published, but for nearly fifty years the rooms of Coalstoun or of Dalhousie Castle have guarded from public view the rich treasures of historical material which he had collected. Here and there a fragment has been placed within the reach of students. The Broughton legacy of private letters written by Lord Dalhousie to Sir John Hobhouse is open to inspection in the British Museum.

The biographers of the great brothers Henry and John Lawrence, of Herbert Edwardes, and of other distinguished men who served under him in India, have made use of the letters which the Governor-General wrote to the subjects of their narratives. But now at last the whole mass of his correspondence, carefully arranged and indexed by Lord Dalhousie himself, is available for testing opinions and statements which have been accepted as history, and for enabling his countrymen to form a just estimate of the course which he steered in public life.

The collection includes the whole of the "private" correspondence that passed between the Governor-General and the five Presidents of Council and the seven Chairmen of the Court of Directors who held their respective offices between 1848 and 1856. No less than twenty-five large volumes are needed for his minutes upon matters of civil administration, while those recorded on military matters are bound up in ten others. A mass of correspondence with Henry and John Lawrence, with the three Commanders-in-Chief, namely, Lord Gough Sir Charles Napier, and Sir William Gomm, with Sir Frederick Currie, General Godwin, Major Mackeson, and Major Phayre fills twenty-one volumes. Four more are devoted to the letters that passed between the Governor-General and the President in Council, and the local Governors. Miscellaneous correspondence is the title given to twenty-nine books full of letters written to or received from persons holding prominent positions in English or Indian society. The Indian section includes correspondence with Generals of Divisions, the Admirals

of the naval forces in Indian waters, the Bishops, the Chief-Justices, and men whose names have long been known to fame, such as Lord Napier of Magdala, Sir George Couper, Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, Sir James Bowring, Sir James Outram, and Herbert Edwardes. The section devoted to his "Home" correspondence contains amongst other letters those written to or by the Duke of Wellington, Lord John Russell, Lords Aberdeen, Stanley, Lincoln, Hardinge, and Canning, as well as letters to the British authorities at Teheran, and in Ceylon or Egypt. In addition to the volumes, numbering altogether one hundred and thirteen, there are many hundreds of letters neatly folded and tied together, as well as a large number of memoranda and notes which throw light upon his studies and the authorities whose opinions he valued. Various reports and official returns also form part of the collection.

Almost the whole of the letters are marked "private," and it should be explained that this term indicates that this correspondence was not official, and copies of it, save on rare occasions, are not to be found in the archives of the Indian secretariats or of the India Office. The minutes of course were official in the sense that they are an official record, although strictly speaking they are not reckoned as public documents until printed by the authority of Government or converted into official letters or despatches. But the phrase "private" does not indicate that the letters were personal. It rather connotes what is called semi-official correspondence, and it will be shown hereafter that the most important authority in the whole

system of the Government of India, namely the President of the Board of Control, had no power to give an order or to sign an official despatch. The letters from the Board to the Governor-General were, however, as authoritative as if they had not been marked private, and they are certainly the most valuable part of the whole collection. Free use has been made in this work of the material just mentioned, but in addition to it there are some personal records, of which the diary kept by Lord Dalhousie from boyhood up to the day of his leaving India is the most interesting. Care has been taken to publish no extract from it which can be termed of merely personal interest and slight importance.

My grateful acknowledgments are due to all those who have allowed me to publish extracts from letters addressed to the Governor-General by the Duke of Wellington, Lord John Russell, Lord Broughton, Sir Charles Wood, Mr. Vernon-Smith, Sir John Lawrence, Sir Herbert Edwardes, and others whose names will appear in these volumes. I have ventured to take one liberty with these extracts, and to adopt throughout, unless there has been special reason to the contrary, an uniform system of spelling. Considerations of space have compelled me to omit passages where I could do so without risk of misleading the reader, and such omissions are indicated by asterisks.

It would have been more satisfactory if I could have left the reader to form his own judgment of Lord Dalhousie's work and character from the correspondence itself. But it seemed to me a duty not to pass by in

silence the accounts which have been laid before the public by writers who have condemned the Governor-General upon imperfect information, or from motives less defensible. Again, time which has softened controversies has also altered parts of the system of government, changed the meaning of technical terms, and modified many of the conditions under which Lord Dalhousie had to work. It has accordingly been necessary to explain the theories and the plan of administration which existed in the middle of last century, in order that the reader himself may understand the circumstances in which the Governor-General stood. In thus incurring the risk of assuming the office of a judge, and in stating to the best of my ability the past history of events which led up to the issues which had to be determined, I must throw myself upon the indulgence of my readers. Conscious of many shortcomings, I can only trust that, despite of them, the minutes and letters which are quoted will enable the reader of these volumes to form a true image of the great statesman whose hand is still felt in every joint of our Indian administration.

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CHAPTER I

CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION

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JAMES ANDREW RAMSAY, third son of the ninth Earl of Dalhousie, and of his wife Christian Broun of Coalstoun, was born at Dalhousie Castle on the 22nd of April, 1812. It was said of him in India that he was as proud of being a Ramsay as of being Governor-General, and his journals reveal that this sense of ancestral obligation, rather than any personal desire after fame, was the spur which urged him to add lustre to a distinguished family. He frequently reverted to the observation of Sir Walter Scott that Dalhousie Castle was probably the oldest inhabited house in Scotland, and certainly the oldest still retained by the same family. It was built by the father of the Alexander Ramsay who on the invasion of 1812-1834.

Scotland by Edward the Third took refuge in the caves of Hawthornden, whence he emerged and captured Roxburgh fortress on the 20th of March, 1342. For this feat he was rewarded by King David with the dignity of keeper of the fortress and Sheriff of Teviotdale, in supersession of the Douglas. The post of honour proved to be his grave, for it turned against him the enmity of Sir William Douglas, who seized the Sheriff and starved him to death in the castle of Hermitage. His successors were true to the traditions of the family, and won credit for their raids upon English territory. In 1400, Henry the Fourth besieged the Castle of Dalhousie, and its possessor, Alexander Ramsay, fell at Hambleton, Shakespeare's "Holmedon," two years later. At the coronation of James the First another Alexander Ramsay of Dalwolsey was knighted, and his grandson was among the slain at Flodden in 1513. By charter dated the 25th of August, 1618, Sir George Ramsay received the dignity of a peer of Parliament under the title of Lord Ramsay, which in 1619 was changed to Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie. In 1633 his son was raised to the rank of Earl of Dalhousie and Lord Ramsay of Keringtoun. The fifth Earl served in 1710 with a brigade sent to the assistance of the Archduke Charles in the War of the Spanish Succession. About the same time another member of the Ramsay family entered the service of Austria, later on passing into France. His son took part with the French army at Quebec, and signed the capitulation of that city to the British army which General Wolfe had commanded. This branch of the family established itself in Canada between Chambly and the Richelieu, and was still represented there when James Ramsay's father was Governor-General. The eighth Earl was High Commissioner to

the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and in 1782 succeeded to a life-interest in the estates of his uncle, the Earl of Panmure, with remainder to his second son. Consequently, on his death in 1787, the two properties were divided, the Dalhousie domains alone going to the ninth Earl, George, and the Panmure inheritance to his brother William Maule, who in 1831 was created first Lord Panmure. In 1860 his son, of whom the reader will hear more under the name of Fox Maule, reunited those of the family titles which were not extinguished by the death of the first and last Marquis, and became eleventh Earl of Dalhousie, but sat in the House of Peers as Lord Panmure.

The ninth Earl, father of the subject of this biography, was created a Peer of the United Kingdom as Baron Dalhousie of Dalhousie Castle. The catalogue of public offices which he filled is a long one, but his chief claim to distinction lay in his military services. As a general officer he served under Wellington and fought at Waterloo; while later on he became Colonel of the gallant Cameronians, Captain-General of His Majesty's Body-guard for Scotland, and Commander-in-Chief in India. In civil life he had held the offices of Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, and of Governor-in-Chief in North America; his various services being recognised by the bestowal of the Grand Cross of the Bath. His son delighted to hear anecdotes of his father's military career, and of one story related by a brother officer of the General's he was particularly proud. At the second action in the Pyrenees, Lord Dalhousie was placed with his own division, the 7th, on the left flank, with orders from the Duke of Wellington to hold his ground. While there and while the French were advancing on the centre, he saw that an immense advantage would be

gained by wheeling up the troops under his command. He did so, taking the enemy in flank ; and though the battle would in any case have been won, this movement put the finishing touch to the Duke's combinations and at once decided the day. The Duke was much pleased, for Sir Edward Pakenham rode up to the General and said, "I would rather be in your skin to day, Dalhousie, than of any other man in the field. *The Beau* has just said of you, 'By G—, that man has more confidence in himself than any other general officer in the army.' "

The incident serves to indicate the source from which the future Marquis inherited his spirit of self-reliance, and explains the warm interest which the Duke took in the son of the trusted general to whose services in the field he so frequently referred in conversation with Lord Dalhousie.

All through his life the most illustrious descendant of the Ramsay family looked back upon his ancestors on the father's side as beckoning him forward in the path of honour and of the public service. He loved to remember and to record in the pages of his diary how in all the important periods of the history of Scotland the Ramsays of the day had borne themselves among their fellows ; how in their untainted loyalty they might "share the boast of the loyal Suetonius and tell that their Charter Chest contained no Remission." If they had somewhat fallen from their ancient splendour of possessions, yet as their very loyalty had contributed to their decline, and no cause of which they needed to be ashamed had helped to hasten their descent, he was proud to feel that "no man now, any more than for the seven centuries past, could for a moment call in question the stoutness of their arm, or the lealness of their heart

in defence of the Sovereign from whom they took their honours."

But James Andrew Ramsay owed much of his disposition to his mother, Christian, Countess of Dalhousie, who was not only of noble lineage, tracing back her ancestry to the Norman Counts of Poitou, but a lady of high accomplishments and striking personality. In his *Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character*, p. 168, Dean Ramsay writes: "Lady Dalhousie was eminently distinguished for a fund of the most varied knowlege, for a clear and powerful judgment, for acute observation, a kind heart, a brilliant wit." From her James learnt to regard courtesy as the quit-rent of his high station; from her too he inherited the strong religious principles which guided him through life, as well as a loveableness and sympathy which endeared him to his family and to all who knew him intimately. For although the term "masterful," sometimes applied to him with no complimentary intention, was in its best sense true of his public career, his private letters show the warmth of his attachments to his relatives and his friends, and the deep love which they in return bore to him.

From his mother's family he further derived a respect, and almost a fascination, for domestic traditions, and he dwelt with a curious fondness on strange coincidences and on the mysteries of existence. Coalstoun was the home of his childhood, and there too he lived during the first year of his happy married life. Its famous pear made a profound impression upon his young mind, and although the world was "too much with him" in his busier future to leave such mythical cobwebs unswept from his brain, his diaries make frequent references to the Coalstoun pear, and show that he took special

interest in collecting similar tales and legends connected with old Indian families. Those who are not familiar with the tradition of the pear will at all events remember the wizard mentioned in *Marmion*, as inhabiting the Goblin tower in the neighbourhood of Gifford.¹ About the middle of the thirteenth century the proprietor of Coalstoun wooed and won this wizard's daughter for his bride. On his asking what dowry the father was prepared to give, the sage picked a pear from a tree in the garden in which they were walking and gave it to the youth with these words: "As long as that pear shall continue in your family, so long shall the estate also remain in it; if it be lost wholly or in part, the entire estate or a portion of it will be lost in consequence." After many years had elapsed, a strong-minded lady, wishing to show her disregard for the legend, bit a piece off the pear, and very soon afterwards it became necessary to sell the farms of Dalgowrie and Newhall. From that time forward no further evil befell the pear, which, completely parched up, was carefully preserved, as James Ramsay records, in a silver box presented by the town of Haddington to the great-grandfather of the Marquis as a shrine for the precious relic.

1816. On his father's appointment as Lieutenant-Governor of Nova Scotia, James accompanied him to Halifax, arriving there on the 25th of October, 1816. His two brothers, Lord Ramsay and Charles, were placed with Dr. Pearson who kept a school at East Sheen, but after the death of the latter from measles in 1817, the former was brought out by a young tutor, Mr. Temple, to join his parents. In 1819 Lord Dalhousie was appointed Governor-in-Chief in North America, and

¹ Gifford or Yester Castle, see *Marmion*, Canto III. xix.

the future education of his sons became a matter for anxious thought. After much discussion with Mr. Temple, the father decided that, painful as the wrench would be, it was for the good of the boys that they should return to England in the following October, Ramsay to be an inmate with Dr. Butler at Harrow, and James to go to Dr. Pearson at East Sheen; while Temple, whose studies recalled him to Cambridge, was to watch over their doings and to take them to Scotland in their holidays. These plans, however, were altered, for on the 8th of October, 1820, Ramsay sailed alone from Quebec with Temple, and on reaching Harrow was placed in the fifth form.

Meanwhile James remained with his parents for two 1822. years, and from his wistful references to Canadian scenery, when in later years he made tours in the Himalayan tracts, one may infer that his childhood was not without its joys. He attended Bunage's school in Quebec, where Montizambert, who lost his life during the operations at Multan, and Harvey, the Judge of Cawnpore, were his schoolfellows. In October, 1822, it was finally decided that James should join Ramsay in Scotland, and the two brothers, very happy in their companionship, spent some time together at Dalhousie Castle. The months of separation from their children which followed were a time of trial to the father and mother, and anxiously did they look forward to a meeting at home. At length, on the 2nd of July, 1824, 1824. Lord Dalhousie having obtained a short leave of absence from his government landed with his wife at Portsmouth. Temple took the two boys up to London to meet their parents on arrival, Ramsay after this brief vacation returning to Harrow, while James and his tutor went north. Soon after his arrival at Dalhousie Castle

in August, 1824 James, then twelve years of age, commenced keeping a diary. In its pages we are told the manner of his daily life; the progress he makes in Latin and Greek, the rides with his father, which he so keenly enjoys, his first lessons in archery, his thoughts and feelings, all these are set down in orderly detail. At the close of the year he makes up a list of the books he has read, the eggs he has collected, and the words which he has found most useful for charades. Week by week he commits to the pages of his journal his criticisms on the Sunday sermon, criticisms which at times do not spare a tedious preacher. Naturally enough there is some monotony in such entries; but this gives place to an overflow of happiness and detail when he comes to describe the rich interests of his annual tours. For his parents wisely made it a part of the system of his education that he should spend some months of each year in travelling about his native country in order that his powers of observation might be stimulated and trained to accuracy. The discipline to which Mr. Temple subjected him was, if somewhat severe, of a wholesome nature; nor did the painful regularity of his punishments, so faithfully recorded by the young journalist, alienate his pupil's affection or diminish his respect. When as Governor-General of India the grown man had it in his power to repay the debt of gratitude which he acknowledged, his influence was at once used to procure a cadetship and a writership for two of Mr. Temple's sons. His letter¹ to Sir James Hogg expressed his sentiments in these terms:—"My suit is in favour of my old tutor, to whom I owe greater obligations than to any man living. He taught me most of what I know of solid knowledge, and trained me to habits of

¹ Letter dated the 7th of April, 1855.

hard labour; and it is only a little knowledge, and a great deal of hard work, that have made me what I am. Hence I feel my debt to him." The suit prospered, and in thanking Hogg, Lord Dalhousie playfully observed that "the boys so richly endowed were twins. Mr. Temple must have wished that there had been three of them."

The simple, frank, and boyish record of his early days, disfigured by neither vanity nor egotism, preserved its unaffected character to the end of his official career, when it suddenly ceased, almost in the middle of a sentence. Intervals in it are exceedingly rare. The volume for 1847, if it was ever written, is missing; and when the terrible news of Lady Dalhousie's death reached him in 1853 there is a gap—a silence more eloquent than words. Otherwise, even under the stress of public office in London and the overwhelming anxieties of his Indian career, Lord Dalhousie never failed to record his views of passing events, his feelings and ambitions. For many years the diary was written day by day, but at a later stage in his career he would take up his pen as he found leisure, and summarise the past events of a month or a longer period of time. The practice of keeping a journal was so essential a part of his life, that before going further it may be well to notice the effect which it seems to have had in developing certain elements in his character, and at the same time to point out the obligations which access to it must impose upon anyone who attempts to write his biography.

The secret of the man's success in wringing out of the twenty-four hours his monumental tale of daily work lay, as his journal shows, in the habit which the child had acquired of economising his minutes. Each

volume of his diary kept at school or at his tutor's house bears inscribed upon it the motto, "Do everything in its proper place: do everything at the proper time: do everything in the proper way." Upon that principle he acted through life, and as a consequence, while his official work never fell into arrears, he found leisure to record an enormous mass of interesting facts, together with the thoughtful reflections which they had suggested. In addition to method, he acquired an extraordinary facility in the mechanical work of writing and in the art of ready expression. As Governor-General he drafted most of his public despatches, and he wrote his minutes with his own hand instead of dictating them to a clerk. The quality of his writing was even more remarkable than the quantity. One cannot open the pages of his journal without finding a certain charm in the delicate clear characters, free from erasures or corrections, that chronicle his travels, enriched with anecdote and historic allusion, and depict his life and occupations in language full of good feeling, overflowing with playful humour. Specimens of his handwriting, as taken at hap-hazard from the volumes of his diaries for 1832 and 1853, are given opposite, in order that the reader may form his own opinion of it.

A sense of melancholy, it must be confessed, steals over the reader and must have affected the writer of the diary. Lord Dalhousie appeared even to his friends to be of a sensitive temperament. It is possible that the habit of committing his inmost feelings to the confidence of his journal may have intensified a natural predisposition of which ill-health was one cause. It is impossible to read the outpourings of his soul, when he writes under the influence of bereavement or a dis-

1832.

9 I have now no chance whatever of being allowed
to put off my degree beyond next Easter. All
shadow of hope then of my taking a first is
gone. It is hard to lose in an instant the
object for w^h you have so long laboured for,
thought of, talked of, dreamed of, almost
solely lived for. It might be vanity w^h has all
along led me to suppose I sh^d ever take those
high honours, but I have fed myself since
I have been at Oxford on the thoughts of
it, and it makes me sad to lose it thus
hopelessly. I will go on - but how can
one work as one should with the prospect
of certain failure in the end?

Read some *Odyssey*. Don't like it so well
as the *Iliad* - and it is rather hard too.
Read three ch: of *Ethics*; don't like them
either - In short I like nothing just
now. I am discouraged and very
dispirited.

March. 8th 1853. Calcutta
Sunday.

Mr Green arrived on
the 7th with letters of
24th ult^o from Rangoon. He
brings no further news of
moment: he has all the
intelligence of the ten days
fr^o the 14th to 24th tends
to confirm the reports that
were made before of
the state of affairs
at

appointment, without fearing that the expression ~~of~~^{of his} his emotions must have aggravated, instead of relieving, his pain. His accounts of the long-drawn agony of his brother's death, or of the sudden loss of his beloved mother, cannot be read even now without deep sympathy. The writer must have suffered acutely as he penned them, and his wounds must have been torn open whenever he looked back at the pages he had written.

How far the influences just traced entered into the character of Lord Dalhousie, or whether the connection between them and his diaries is justified, must be matters of opinion. But there is no room left for doubt as to the responsibilities which a perusal of these original records places upon anyone who attempts to write the life of that distinguished man. The biographer must forsake the paths trodden by others, and be true to the light which guides him into new directions. Several accounts of the Governor-General who ruled India for more than seven years have been written. Those of Sir Edwin Arnold, Sir William W. Hunter, and Captain L. J. Trotter deserve high praise for literary workmanship and effective use of available materials. But they were compiled from inadequate sources. The diaries, and what is of higher consequence, the confidential correspondence with the authorities at home or in India, now exposed to view for the first time, fill up intervals in our knowledge of facts, and occasionally demolish theories and contradict statements so frequently repeated as to have gained a general acceptance. It is an invidious task to correct authors whose merits have been so properly and publicly acknowledged. But the duty cannot be shirked; and as an instance of the dangers to which truth is exposed

in its passage from mouth to mouth and pen to pen, two versions of one story are here set side by side. The story written down by Lord Dalhousie in his own handwriting, on the 25th of January, 1843, bears testimony to the capacity of Lord Wellesley; the same story repeated on the authority of Lord Dalhousie by Trotter, and copied by other writers, transfers the asset to the credit of the Duke of Wellington. In the passage of the anecdote through many hands the four words—"Lord Wellesley was nettled"—have slipped out, and the whole sense of the passage is altered.

Here is Lord Dalhousie's account—

LORD DALHOUSIE'S ACCOUNT

He [the Marquis of Wellesley] was a man of very fine understanding, but indolent to the last degree unless when compelled; and then he was wonderful as a man of business. The Duke told Mr. Arbuthnot so, and saying that when Lord Wellesley chose, he was the most admirable man for the despatch of business that ever he had seen, he gave him, as an instance, what happened to himself in India. After Assaye, and all that, he was going home to England; and Sir Arthur went to Calcutta to see his brother. While he was there the principal secretary came to him and implored him to get Lord Wellesley to turn himself to the business, saying that none of their boxes were ever opened, and that the whole business of the country was in such horrible arrears that they were afraid the whole Government would get into disgrace with the Directors and everywhere else. Sir Arthur went to the Governor-General and said, "Now you know, here I am, with nothing to do. You must have a vast deal to do. I wish you would make any use of me you think proper." Lord Wellesley was nettled. He set to work; sate up for several nights together, and got through the whole business in the most perfect manner before ever he stopped.

CAPTAIN TROTTER'S VERSION OF THE SAME¹

The Duke of Wellington once told Dalhousie of a visit he paid to his brother, the Marquis Wellesley, at Calcutta. "Wellesley," he said, "was so full of his foreign policy that I found a room full of boxes containing civil cases in arrear. I asked him to let me clear them off, got permission, and did it in a month—yes, all in a month."

With this introduction, the diary must now be our guide through the early years during which there is no correspondence, whether official or private, to supply information. At the same time the veil need not be lifted to expose to view those "valueless papers of personal interest" which Lord Dalhousie wished to shield from the public eye. We left James, at the close of 1824, writing his journal and enjoying the society of his parents and the discipline of his tutor. His time was divided between Dalhousie Castle and Coalstown, until in 1825 his father and mother returned to Canada on board his Majesty's yacht *Herald*. James then went for a tour in the Highlands with Temple, at the end of which, an outbreak of measles preventing his residence at Dalhousie, he with his tutor stayed with the Dalrymples at North Berwick. On Thursday the 1825. 8th of September, 1825, he entered Harrow as an inmate of Dr. Butler's house.

His stay there lasted two years, and Sir W. Hunter, who follows others in this account, is in error when he states that on James Ramsay's return from Canada at the age of ten, "he spent the next seven years at Harrow, with his eldest brother as his fellow-pupil." The graceful letter with which, on the 19th of October, 1850, the Governor-General answered an appeal from Dr. Butler, then Dean of Peterborough, is still

¹ *Dalhousie*, p. 179, by L. J. Trotter. The Statesmen Series.

preserved in the Vaughan Library as a memento of one of the most distinguished pupils whom that great institution has ever sent forth to work for his country. In it Lord Dalhousie recalls with gratitude the "care" and "constant kindness" with which the headmaster had treated him. His diary narrates the chief events of each day of his life at school, giving a complete list of the masters at Harrow, and of the boys, his fellow-students, among whom the name of his brother Ramsay is not to be found. On his admission in September, 1825, the school counted 218 pupils; at his removal in 1827 only 147; while in 1828 he recounts that the numbers had dropped to 121, "only nineteen of whom were in Butler's house." The young censor who spared not the preacher's sermons sets forth in his journal the causes of the decline of Harrow. It is not necessary to enter into them. One event, however, of this period, which robbed Harrow of two of the masters on the 31st January, 1826, at least proved a blessing in disguise, since it entailed a whole holiday. James amused himself at school with quoits and football, and devoted his holidays to archery and riding. He got some prizes for exercises "sent up," and even a double remove. One entry in a schoolboy's diary is very like another, and the following extract may be taken as a sample:—
1826. "October 22, 1827. Skipped school altogether, as I was very sleepy from last night sitting up to 2 A.M. Butler did not send for me, nor did he find me out. Second school, Virgil, when I was called up; third school, Poetæ; fourth school, Scriptores Romani. In the evening supped with Strickland on hare, pheasant, and partridges. Brooks, Harenc, Adair, Lowndes, and myself were the party. Had a pipe and a song afterwards."

Of Dr. Butler's personal kindness to him he makes ^{1827.} frequent mention, but he attributes to that very quality of kindness the irregularities to which he confesses. His journal recounts that at first he refused to play cards for money, that after a time he yielded, that small stakes grew large, and finally that he is reduced to beggardom. He smokes, and drinks, and sits up late, constantly paying the penalty of ill-health. At last he goes near to dismissal. On the 2nd of November, 1827, he supped at the King's Head, "broke some windows, and got into a horrid row with the cook, who told Butler. He swore at first he would send me away, but he moderated and only gave me six pages of Paley to write out and translate into Latin." Reverting to this incident at a later date, he writes :—"This was the only serious scrape I ever was in. And though Butler carried his threats a great deal too far, yet I wonder he did not punish me far more severely."

But although James had now reached the lower sixth and was beginning to show some intellectual promise, and although healthy games and his own strong principle shielded the boy from serious mischief, his relations and Mr. Temple were naturally not free from anxiety. Accordingly he was removed from Harrow at the end of the year, and an entry added in 1830 to his journal for December contains this final review of his school-days.

Nothing could be more kind than Butler was to me, and we were always the best of friends. I got through the school very creditably to myself and tutors. I don't think I had forty puns. during the whole time I was there. Under Harry Drury I grew in favour; and he gave me a weekly monitorship and let me off puns. without end. I had every reason to regret going. But it was very lucky that I left when I did, for as may be seen by reading the journal of the last three months, I did little else but

smoke, drink, and dawdle all the time, and after I went away the smoking, drinking, and dawdling became even more general and constant. As old Butler used to say regularly first thing after the cloth was off at sixth form and shell suppers, "*Well boys, stet fortuna domus.*"

Before we pass from Harrow, it may be interesting to add that Barclay was head of the school when James entered it, and Joddrell when he left it. Prominent among his contemporaries were the Marquis of Abercorn, Lord Dalmeny, Hermann Merivale, and, for the first year, Manning. But while at this time Winchester was sending forth into the world many distinguished men, the years at Harrow were particularly lean.

1828. To the stirring irregularities of his Harrow days there succeeded a great calm. After spending his holidays with friends, James returned to the quiet of Mr. Temple's house at Lane End near Newcastle in Staffordshire. There he went to bed early, rode a horse given to him by his father, at least whenever Mr. Temple did not borrow it, and pursued his studies with better effect. He greatly enjoyed a walking tour through Wales with his tutor, carrying his own knapsack, and filling his diary with vivid descriptions of the country, its scenery, and antiquities. He followed his father's career with keen interest, taking his part with enthusiastic piety when attacked by the press for proroguing the Provincial Assembly of Canada in consequence of the re-election of Papineau as Speaker. Still happier days came when his parents returned home in October, 1828, to find their boy so grown that even his mother did not know him at their first meeting, and with roguish glee he passed his father in the grounds without being recognised. On his return to Dalhousie Castle

the Earl entertained several distinguished guests, including Sir Walter Scott, whom in after years Lord Dalhousie remembered as having said to him in broad Scotch across the table, "Mr. Jemes, will ye do me the honour o' drinking a glass o' wine wi' me?"

In the pleasures of society, and in shooting and hunt-^{1829.}ing many bright days glided by until Lord Dalhousie, having entered his son's name at Christ Church, Oxford, left Portsmouth on the 15th of July, 1829, to take up his new appointment of Commander-in-Chief at Calcutta. Lord Ramsay accompanied his father as Aide-de-camp, and Colonel Ramsay went out as Military Secretary. James resumed his studies with Mr. Temple, until the 24th of October, when he took the usual oaths before Vice-Chancellor J. C. Jones at Oxford.

After the experiences of Harrow, it was not to be wondered at that the Earl felt some concern as to his son's career at the University. Before sailing he wrote him an affectionate letter assuring him that his doings at Oxford would be the object of his deepest anxiety while in India, and expressing an earnest hope that in going up he would do so with the resolution to take a degree and a prominent station among the studious, not among the hunting and sporting, members of that University. Little did his father expect the brilliant future which the Fates had assigned to his "idle" son in the very land to which in due course the ship *Pallas* carried the Commander-in-Chief.

It must, however, be confessed that nothing occurred at Oxford to single out James Ramsay as the coming man of his year. At the outset he complains that his studies are being interrupted by his having to share his rooms with a fellow-student named Digby. Later

on, with rooms of his own, he became more industrious, and satisfactorily passed his *collections* and other examinations. Early in the following year he was elected a member of the Union, where he heard some good speeches, particularly from Vaughan, Manning, Gladstone, and Gaskell. Among his more intimate friends were Bruce, afterwards Lord Elgin, Governor-General of India in 1862-63; Hope, afterwards Hope Scott, the leader of the Parliamentary bar; Graham of Airth, Oswald, Acland, and Seymour. He attended the University sermons with regularity, and formed many good resolutions—some of which he kept. A narrow escape from a flash of lightning, which struck a man named Cooke in the passage below his rooms, on the 25th of June, impressed him deeply, and he fervently acknowledges the divine mercy which had spared himself.

In July, 1830, he set out with Mr. Temple on a pleasant walking tour in Derbyshire, but on this occasion the pedestrians preferred to have their bags carried for them. He records his intense joy on his return to Dalhousie at the end of the month, although then deserted and desolate; and on the 2nd of August he received from Lord Robert Kerr his Commission as a member of the Royal Scottish Archers, the King's Bodyguard, dated June the 16th, 1830. On the 25th of September he was distressed by the arrival of a letter from his mother, dated the 1st of April, giving full details of his father's sudden seizure with a paralytic stroke on the 21st of March. At the end of the October term he went to Lane's End, where at the close of the year he summarises the chief events of the twelvemonth to which his diary had devoted a more detailed account. Among those events were the death of George the

Fourth and the accession of his brother to the throne; the fall of the Wellington ministry, which was replaced by the Whigs; the riots, burning of corn and machinery, which had been rife throughout the country, "many of the wretched men being punished with death"; the expulsion of the Bourbons from France, the accession of Louis Philippe, and the imprisonment for life of four of the ex-ministers; the revolt of Belgium from Holland, and of Poland from Russia; the expulsion of the King of Saxony and the Duke of Brunswick from their territories; Lord Blantyre's fatal accident at Brussels; the death of the Pope, etc., etc. Passing from these public occurrences, James Ramsay concludes his diary for the year with the pious hope that the Order of the Thistle may be conferred upon his father.

A heavy atmosphere of disappointment hangs about 1831. the copious entries in his diary for 1831. His delight in the society of his friend Henry Liddell, and a warm attachment to Charles Edmonstone, in whom he saw a lifelong friend, brought some sunshine into his residence at Oxford, but the year was full of depressing experiences. Soon after his return to Christ Church, Conyers Osborne, a son of the Duke of Leeds, was killed either by a fall or more probably by a drunken fellow-student's blow after a late supper, and the mournful tones of the funeral bell affected James's spirits. As the year advanced, the prorogation on the 22nd of April of a Parliament which began by turning out the Duke of Wellington for refusing reform, and ended by refusing supplies to Lord Grey in opposition to reform, and the riotous scenes which marked the elections and subsequent events, added to his discontent. His deepest anxiety is for the welfare of his parents, whose time and thoughts had been so

fondly devoted to him. The Earl was indeed suffering, as he wrote on the 10th of September, 1830, to his nephew Maule, from the "abominable climate of Calcutta, with the destructive virulence of the sun's rays that scorch into you and through you with their terror." In the following year he had derived some benefit from his tour to Burma and subsequently from his move to Simla, but he was "sair failed"; and James's brother, Lord Ramsay, was suffering in nerves and health from continued rheumatism contracted in India. Even the successes of the year brought James Ramsay scant consolation. He won in November a £10 exhibition founded by Archbishop Boulter, but he was beaten by Leslie, and confessed himself a good deal discouraged. Ill-health, attended by an abscess in his foot, further depressed him, and altogether he spent the greater part of his twentieth year with an oppressive sense of impending calamity.

1832. His gloom was not dispelled even by the receipt of better news from India, or by the Christmas vacation. After a visit to Dalkeith Palace, where he noted that the Duke of Buccleuch had the week before "fed 1800 persons," and a night at Newbattle, where the Marquis of Lothian was too ill to appear, he went to Dalhousie to receive Charles the Tenth and the Dauphin, who came over to shoot on the 13th of January, 1832. "The King," he writes, "had two fellows behind him to load, and another part of their duty appeared to be to do exactly what 'Le Roi,' as they called him, did before them. When, after missing a woodcock, he shook his hands and danced with rage, their hands shook as they danced also; when he killed, they shouted with joy." No one except the Dauphin was allowed to shoot in his presence. The King aimed

at a speckled pheasant, a special favourite of Hume, the gamekeeper, who roared out in the vernacular, "Eh, Lord's sake, dinna shute, dinna shute!" But the pheasant was killed, and Hume had it stuffed "as a lasting memorial of the ruthless nature of Frenchmen." At this period cholera was ravaging the country, and the gruesome details of its progress painfully affected the spirits of James Ramsay. In March his fellow-student, C. Thynne, son of Lord Bath, was rusticated, and this added to his feelings of general despondency. The day of humiliation and national prayer, March the 21st, appealed alike to the brooding melancholy and to the religious side of his character; and when he completed his twentieth year, on April the 22nd, he dwelt upon his failure to carry out his good intentions, and recorded a fresh resolution to soothe his father's declining years and be truly a comfort to his old age. On the 28th of April he joined his parents at the house of Lady Bradford in London, and was rejoiced to find his mother in excellent health and his father better than he had expected. But "Ramsay, poor fellow, is far the worst. His eye is irrevocably gone, his leg still stiff and unmanageable from rheumatism, his face thin, pale, and yellow." After keeping another term at Oxford, James joined his brother at Harrogate, and went thence with him to try the effect of change of air at Buxton. On July the 9th he writes: "Sate looking at Ramsay this morning at breakfast, and could scarcely help asking myself, 'Is this my brother who left me three years ago?' Dark straight hair instead of the fair curling head he used to have; a long sallow, sunken face; his left eye gone and covered by a black patch; thin wasted arms and long sepulchral-looking white

fingers ; his back bowed, his legs crooked and distorted by rheumatism ; and the man who now lamely shuffles along the floor with pain and by the help of two sticks, in the very flower of his youth and yet suffering under the worst infirmities of old age, is the same who a few years ago seemed impregnable to cold or heat, subdued by no fatigue, and who would to all appearance bid defiance to trouble and sorrow, sickness and death."

There is no need to follow the progress of the disease step by step until death brought to the sufferer relief on the 25th of October at Dalhousie Castle. The struggle for life was severe, marked by various changes of treatment, frequent consultations, and bright flickers of hope going out into the darkness of despondency. Lord Ramsay's birthday, August the 3rd, was a day of sadness, and on the 27th of the same month James writes : "Poor fellow, it breaks my very heart to look at him. He is very anxious that I should remain with him altogether." The wish was gratified, and arrangements were made for staying down the next term. James was assiduous in his tender and thoughtful attentions to his brother, and as the disease gained ground he became more and more anxious for his spiritual welfare. On the 20th of September he writes : "It seems to me terrible that he should be allowed to remain in such ignorance of his state as he appears to be ; and yet there are difficulties in the way of acquainting him with it : it seems most fearful, too painful to think upon, that he should be under even the chance of being called from the world without having time to cast one thought on that which is to come after. This has been weighing on my mind." . . . "My brother will, I am persuaded, gladly allow himself to be led to think of those serious subjects which were

so constantly and strongly impressed upon him in childhood." On the 16th of October, Lord Ramsay showed some consciousness of his danger. Graham remarked to him, "Go on with patience"; and he replied, "Yes, doctor, I have not lost patience, but I have lost all hope." Three days later, a fresh and unlooked-for calamity overtook James Ramsay; for his father suddenly fell forward in a faint as he was talking to his son. After a few minutes he regained consciousness, and said gently, "I beg your pardon for disturbing you all." The son remarks, "So considerate, so void of all feeling of selfishness, it was quite touching to hear him." Lord Dalhousie did not recover his health for some days, nor could he attend his eldest son's funeral on the 31st of October. Fortunately for James, Mr. Temple arrived on the 21st of that month, and lost no time in preparing Ramsay for his approaching end, which came at 9.35 P.M. on Thursday, the 25th of October. The last sad scenes, and the welcomed confession made by Ramsay to his Aunt Mary—that he was "at peace both in body and mind"—are told in pathetic detail in his brother's diary. When the dying man was warned by Mr. Temple of his danger, the factor, who was attending him, broke down. Lord Ramsay turned to him and said gently, "Bear up, Main; I intend to do so. I am a soldier, and I will die like a soldier." And so the end came, bringing with it a momentous change in the prospects of James, who now became Lord Ramsay. His reflections are thus recorded:—"The year brought bitterness and sorrow, taught me what it is to have a heart aching with anxiety and bowed down with grief, and deprived me of a brother whom I never knew how much I loved till I was separated

from him in this world for ever ;” but it also brought a firm resolution to be “no unworthy filler of my brother’s place,” and to “become in thoughts, words, and actions a Christian, a gentleman, and a nobleman.”

1833. The interruption caused in his studies by the loss of a term “put honours out of the question.” His return, however, to Oxford brought with it much solace in the friendship of Charles Edmonstone, Leslie, Canning, Oswald, Leveson, Liddell, and Kynaston. He busied himself in the study of ethics, competed for a prize poem on “*Sæculum ob inventa clarum*,” which, to his disappointment, was won by Morris, and threw himself into the healthy distractions of Oxford life. When, on the 22nd of April, he came of age, he laid down with remarkable insight the course he meant to steer in public life. “I trust I shall ever be led to act solely by a consideration of what will most conduce to the interests and happiness of my countrymen, and that I shall hold on this course firmly, as unseduced by the false approbation of the multitude, as I shall be unmoved by their displeasure, and undismayed by their menaces and clamour. In my private life I will not profess (for what man dare promise), but I will hope and pray that I shall ever be all that an honest and good man could wish to see me.” In November he went in for his final schools and “prospered exceedingly” in his *viva voce* examination. “It ended by Sewell’s saying, ‘Well, your papers are very good. Would you like to put down some books, and come in for honours?’ This is complimentary, so I thanked them but declined.” Commenting further on this decision, Ramsay writes: “There is no conceit in saying that I know, had I only followed out my reading, that I should without doubt have got a first class.

Every one tells me so ; and what is a better proof, people say so who don't tell me. However, I have nothing to upbraid myself with. Neither idleness nor a faint heart came over me, and circumstances which nothing could foresee or prevent were alone to blame. It is in vain my friends tell me that next to a first a fourth is to be wished for." A few days later, on the 10th of November, he breakfasted with Canning, and met Augustus Short, afterwards first Bishop of Adelaide, one of the examiners, who said to him : " So you would accept of no more honours ; you would have nothing more to do with us in the schools." " I said, ' Why no, that I did not like the fashion of going in for a pass and working up to a class ; that the first going in for a pass looked rather too like begging indulgence and favour, and that I should not have admired a class under those circumstances ; and besides that I had long ago made up my determination, and it was foolish to be undecided.' He replied, ' Well, I do not blame you ; but I assure you you stood out in vivid contrast to all the rest of them.' " I have given these extracts with some fulness, because the appearance of Lord Ramsay's name in the fourth class of the Honours List for Michaelmas, 1833, has elsewhere been taken as an indication that he competed for honours, whereas the examiners for the pass degree marked their sense of his merits by giving him *honoris causa* that which he had not sought.

After taking his degree of B.A., on the 14th of 1834. November, 1833, Ramsay proceeded to Nice to join his father, whose health had now completely broken down. The year spent there and in his wanderings to various scenes of interest was the last but not the least important of those devoted to his education. His full account of his tour in Italy and Switzerland is a

monument of industry and applied knowledge; and it is difficult to tear oneself from its perusal, or to resist the temptation of reproducing it as a challenge to those who, at a later stage of his history, charged Lord Dalhousie with want of imagination. His enjoyment of Italian scenery was especially keen, and there as elsewhere he appreciated to the full the beauties which nature had scattered around with so profuse and yet so choice a hand. The dresses, manners, and politics of the countries through which he travelled attracted his intelligent observation; but above all the associations and memories of their past history, their statesmen, poets, and artists, stirred his enthusiasm. He was too jealous of these delights to share them with others, and when at Rome loved to poke about the corners of the Eternal City finding out its curiosities for himself, instead of being dragged at the chariot-wheels of a cicerone, and bidden what to see and admire. There were times when he even wished that an earthquake would swallow up the modern city, and "so leave Roma to Roma's self." He loved to visit the tomb of Virgil, and to call up Horace or Cicero as his companions. "As," he writes, "I stepped beyond the temple of Antoninus and Faustina, I felt a sensation of reverence and awe which inclined me to step slowly and silently as though I were going into the presence of a dying man. I was not enthusiastic; I was not in the least rhapsodical; but I enjoyed quietly, though deeply, the delight of looking around and allowing the recollection of one scene after another to present itself to my mind's eye, and feasting upon the ideas which such associations could alone create." At Venice the silence of his gondolier enabled him to "wonder in quiet." Lying upon the grass at Sirmio in the cool of the evening watching the bright

sun as it lit up the summits of the hills and sparkled on the smooth waters of the two basins of the lake—"glassy enough to have served as a mirror for the Nereids—I could not wonder that Catullus should say of such a scene, '*Peninsularum insularumque ocellus*,' the more so when that scene was the scene of his home, a word which adds double charm to every beauty and which is able to make even a wilderness to smile and to blossom like the rose." Pompeii appealed strongly to his imagination—

You go into it and at once find yourself amid existing Romans; you can hardly believe it a ruined city, for in its resurrection from the dead it has come forth so fresh and lifelike that one can hardly believe that it is not still man's dwelling-place. You follow the inhabitants through their streets, you see the marks of their chariot-wheels, you can almost see the people sacrificing in their temples and wandering in their basilicas and forum. You find their houses still fresh, the furniture standing in their rooms, their shops, their very writing on the walls; their theatres seem as though they only waited for the crowd again to fill them; their fountains look as if they only wanted the will to play again; and when you have thus visited them in their lives and amid their employments, you pass the gate and leave the city through their tombs which line the road on either hand. From the time you enter the gate you are carried back 1800 years into past ages; modern times and present things are quite shut out, and you live and move in a world of a different era. It is a most agreeable illusion, which Vesuvius still smoking in full view seems to confirm.

His diary is full of appropriate classical quotations, and he constantly remarks that the hold which poetry possesses on the mind is far stronger than any that can be attained by history. "No spot, I am sure, however famous by its historical associations, not Marathon, not even Bannockburn, can ever make me feel as I felt while standing in the cave of Cumæ. The lapse of

3000 years had not deadened the freshness of the scenes which once were acted there; Æneas and the Sibyl still lived within the cave, and I half expected to hear the voice proclaiming—"Procul, O procul, este profani."

He readily surrendered himself to the magic power of art. The Demosthenes in the gallery of the Vatican "seemed to me, as he stood with sternness in his features, and the finger pointing so speakingly to the decree in his hand, to be in truth the very man himself, he who pronounced the Philippics." He felt the scorn of the upper lip of Apollo and his confidence in superior power as he stood confessed a god; the suffering of Laocoon, too great for mortal endurance; and the intellectual beauty of Minerva. He did not, however, shut himself out from the society of the living. On the 17th of March he was received by the "mild, simple, good old man Pope Gregory XVI.," and he contrasted the influence of his predecessors, backed by the thunders of the bull of excommunication, with his present insecure seat and crown of thorns. The scene which he witnessed on the 30th of March, "when 3000 souls within St. Peter's court were bent in united attention on the Pontiff, the Head of God's Church upon earth, while he solemnly invoked God's blessing upon them and their brethren throughout the world," struck him as graceful and dignified in the extreme. He devoutly adds the hope that some part of it may rest upon himself. At Milan he was not slow to observe how in the finished mouldings, statues, and pinnacles, impossible to be seen from below, art had, as it were, rendered invisible homage to the invisible God; while at Venice he wondered in what terms Horace would have described the impiety of man who had dared to fix his very dwellings amidst the waters, and to

build a city where God had made a sea. These reminiscences must serve to show that Ramsay's previous studies and habits of observation were turned to good account at this final stage of his education. They will also enable the reader to form some idea of his character and tastes.

On the 30th of May, 1834, the family party broke up at Strasburg; the Earl and the Countess proceeded to Wiesbaden, their son returned to England. Landing on the 4th of June, Ramsay made all haste to attend the installation of the Duke of Wellington as Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Returning to London, he was presented at Court on the 25th of June by the Duke of Buccleuch, after which he paid a visit to his devoted friend Edmonstone at Erwarton parsonage, near Ipswich. In July, shortly after the return of his parents to Dalhousie Castle, he entered as a trooper in the ranks of the Royal Midlothian Yeomanry, feeling "proud to belong to so useful and constitutional a body; one which is so efficient as guarding the rights and property of their neighbours and the public, and productive of so much good to the social state by bringing tenants and landlords into friendly contact by mixing together the high and low in a neighbourhood for a time upon an equality." When the drilling season was over he devoted himself to sport with the same enthusiasm and spirit that he had thrown into his tour. At Cawdor Castle he shot grouse and his first deer; from Gordon Castle he fished, meeting there Professor Whewell, who expressed himself with "a rare nervousness of language and animation." On the steep sides of Ben-y-Gloe he pursued ptarmigan, and in October spent a week full of happiness and sport at Dumfries. Other visits to Dalmeny and Yester filled up his time

and helped to relieve his mind of anxiety for the failing health of his parents. Of Yester he writes on the 14th of November: "I don't know when I have been more pleased with a first visit. There is so delightful a spirit running through all—so simple, so unaffected, so kind in their manners to strangers and to each other. You so clearly see that the whole family forms one chain of love, that it is a real delight to be admitted into the circle." The Tweeddales paid a visit soon after to Dalhousie, and the diary of December the 6th contains this entry: "The Tweeddales are real nice people. I like the Lord, and I like his straightforward bluntness. Lady Tweeddale is charming, so unaffected, so good-humoured, so pretty, so young-looking. Lady Susan is a nice girl too." This is the first entry in Ramsay's diary of her who was destined to fill the chief place in his future diaries and in his life.

In the course of the year now drawing to a close, Ramsay received a caution from his mother regarding the marked attentions he had paid to a young lady of their acquaintance. The same subject had been mentioned by his friend the Duchess of Buccleuch, whom he describes as his other guardian genius, and the double warning led him to the confession that, though he liked and was amused by the lady in question, he had never for a moment entertained the idea of asking her to be his wife. Henceforth he felt that it behoved him to be careful lest he should insensibly be led into winning affections which he had no intention of equally returning, conduct that seemed to him "the most heartlessly dishonourable that a man could be guilty of." One other reflection on the subject of matrimony occurs in his diary of the 5th of July. Of a lady who had attracted him by her beauty, he writes—

I do not think that, amid all her accomplishments, much attention is paid to forming the disposition and instilling that religious feeling without which I should be unwilling to take a wife. I am not, I am afraid, religious myself, but I should heartily wish to be so, and to see my wife so. I do not speak of fanatical religion which makes the opera Gehenna, but of sober, quiet, unobtrusive religion, which appears only so far as it brings peace and happiness into a family, and reflects that happiness on all within its circle.

In his own home-circle Ramsay was enduring a trial which was peculiarly painful to his filial and sensitive character. His mother had returned from abroad in bad health, and his father's condition was alarming and distressing. The latter frequently received his son with coldness, and on one occasion spoke to him in hasty terms, for which there was no justification. "It is in vain," writes Ramsay, on the 17th of November, "I say to myself how foolish it is to feel sore, how almost wrong it is even to remember it. For it is but disease, and it is my duty to bear it. But that does not make me feel it the less." For his mother's sake he determined to bear with this treatment, but he confessed sadly that he could no longer feel the intense happiness which his father's society had always brought to him. Not only was Lord Dalhousie's health entirely giving way, but the loss of his official income was beginning to add anxiety to the disease from which he suffered.

In these domestic troubles and discomforts the year wore itself out. The Whig ministry fell in November, and Sir Robert Peel was recalled from Italy to form a new Government. On Christmas Day, while attending a meeting of Sir George Clerk's friends in Edinburgh, Ramsay was invited to stand for the city. The question of expense presented difficulties, but it was ultimately decided that Learmonth and Ramsay should provide

£1500 between them, and present themselves for election in the coming year. Here then we may pass from the years of Ramsay's education to his first appearance on the stage of public life, on which it was his fortune to be called upon to deal with some of the greatest problems ever forced upon a statesman for instant solution, and to decide them to the entire satisfaction of succeeding generations. But it cannot be said that either at Harrow or at Christ Church he drew to himself that attention which his natural qualities and abilities deserved. The best part of his equipment for the career upon which he was soon to enter was supplied by the force of heredity, by a loving accomplished mother, and by the example and teaching of his judicious and high-principled tutor, Mr. Temple.

CHAPTER II

WAITING FOR OFFICE

The General Election 1835—Stands for Edinburgh, but is defeated—Begins to take part in public affairs—Proposes to Lady Susan Hay and is accepted—His marriage on 21st January, 1836—Birth of first child, Susan, 9th of January, 1837—Contests the county of East Lothian, and is returned, 1837—Unpleasant incident with Lord Douglas Hallyburton—His father's death, 21st March, 1838—Attends the Coronation of Queen Victoria—Death of his mother, 22nd of January, 1839; birth of second child, Edith, 6th of October—Disagreement with Dr. Chalmers—Withdrawal from the General Assembly—Supports Lord Aberdeen's Church of Scotland Benefices Bill, June 1840—Loses his lawsuit regarding the Logan estates—Erection of a statue of the Duke of Wellington in Edinburgh—Attendance in the House of Lords—Trial of Lord Cardigan, 1841—Renewal of agitation on Veto case in Scotland—Sir Robert Peel forms a ministry—Offer of an office in the Queen's household—Lady Dalhousie appointed a Lady of the Bedchamber, 1842—Prospects of an Indian Governorship—Visits to and conversations with the Duke of Wellington—The Queen's visit to Scotland—Her Majesty's visit to Dalhousie Castle—Lord and Lady Dalhousie return to London.

THE new year opened for Lord Ramsay in the din and ¹⁸³⁵ excitement of a general election. The King, William the Fourth, having dismissed Lord Melbourne from office, had entrusted Sir Robert Peel with the formation of a Conservative ministry. Ramsay, although he could hardly expect success, threw himself heart and soul into the struggle as candidate for Edinburgh, de-

claring himself to be a Tory with "no wish to perpetuate abuses or to preserve blots." He was twitted with his youth, and stung by the imputation that his name was unknown in Edinburgh. To the latter charge he replied in terms which for some years exposed him to banter—"I am the descendant of twenty-five generations of ancestors who have all along been the city's neighbours." His colleague, Learmonth by name, who broke down in his speeches to the electors, was rescued by John Forsyth's assurance that it did "not matter, as Learmonth will do all that Lord Ramsay will say." The burden of speech and the brunt of the heckling thus fell upon Ramsay's shoulders, which proved fully equal to the strain. Asked what he thought of the protection afforded to the timber trade of Canada, Lord Ramsay assumed a histrionic air of gravity, and replied, "I went to Canada at the mature age of four, and I remained there till I was ten, but I had no time to make up my mind on the subject." A popular townsman called out, "He's a wutty wee fellow, yon!" and the audience pleasantly accepted the verdict. Ramsay's good-humour, courage, and perseverance created a favourable impression, and although he was beaten in the contest, he was, according to his own statement made at the time, "neither disappointed nor damaged in the encounter." The good-humour and spirit with which he met his defeat were long remembered. He ended the speech, in which he returned thanks to his supporters, by telling the electors they would hear from him again, and jauntily adding—

"I'll say to myself as I ride through the glen,
They were daft to refuse the Laird of Cockpen."

Abercromby, afterwards Lord Dunfermline and Speaker

of the House of Commons, headed the poll with 2963 votes, and second to him came Sir John Campbell, successively Attorney-General, Chief Justice, and Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. Ramsay, with 1716 votes, stood third. The contest left behind its usual legacies of bitterness and misrepresentation. One of these deserves notice. Ramsay was shortly afterwards blackballed for the East Lothian Agricultural Association, of which Lord Tweeddale proposed him as a member. The grounds alleged for his exclusion were that he had compelled two of his father's tenants to vote for Hope under threat of eviction, and that, in a speech at a dinner given on the 13th of February by the tenants of the three Lothians to the Duke of Buccleuch, he had asserted the right of landlords to force their tenants to vote according to their wishes. The tenants at once signed a paper setting forth the fact that no sort of inducement or threat had been used to them, while a report of the speech which had been published at the time contained no mention of the remarks attributed to Lord Ramsay and denied by him. Accordingly, sixty members of the Association addressed to him in June a request that he would allow himself to be put up again for election; but the once-rejected candidate civilly declined to accede to their wish.

The Edinburgh election served, however, to introduce Ramsay to public life. In February he was initiated as an apprentice into the mysteries of the Canongate Kilwinning Lodge of Masons. He was enrolled as a Justice of the Peace for Haddington, and he joined several political and philanthropic committees. He also took part in meetings held in June at Exeter Hall for the formation of a Protestant

Constitutional Association. Besides the constituencies of East Lothian and Haddington Burghs, that of Bath invited him to come forward as a candidate at the next election. But he was a Scotsman and would only stand for a Scottish seat, while in Scotland he felt pledged to contest Edinburgh, if the occasion presented itself. The offers were therefore refused. Society readily opened its doors to him, and he was received with marked attention by Sir Robert Peel and the Duke of Wellington. His description of Peel, whom he was glad to count as an old Harrovian, may be quoted. "He was a tall man, strongly built, with an aquiline nose and fair complexion, his eyebrows light, and his yellow hair brushed off his forehead into a wave. He was dressed in tight black pantaloons, tall white neckcloth, white waistcoat buttoned high up, and blue coat with brass buttons, very long in the sleeves, and coming down over his knuckles, and ill-made altogether. His manner was ill at ease and *géné*, but the frost is only on the surface." Very different was the impression made upon him by the "Duke with his eagle eye,"¹ as

¹ Lord Dalhousie was always struck with the eagle eye of the Duke, and he used to tell the following story of a portrait of His Grace painted by Sir Thomas Lawrence for Mr. Arbuthnot, and copied in enamel by Mr. Essex, in which this feature lost nothing of its keenness:—"The history of this picture is rather singular. The Duke agreed to sit for the picture, gave many sittings, and the picture being finished, was sent to Woodford and hung up there. Sometime afterwards the Duke came down to pay Mr. Arbuthnot a visit. One day Mr. Arbuthnot came into the room where the picture was placed; and there, to his horror, he saw the Duke mounted on a table which he had dragged to the side of the room, scratching away with a coal at the face of the picture and scoring it with black marks in all directions. Mr. Arbuthnot screamed out, 'For heaven's sake, don't; what are you doing?' and was coolly told by the Duke that he had only been marking the points which were errors in the picture, which might be improved. In this state it was shown to Sir Thomas Lawrence, and whether he wished to play the courtier or not, Mr. Arbuthnot said he could not tell, but 'Sir,' he said, 'the Duke was perfectly right in his criticisms'; and painting the whole thing entirely afresh, he produced the beautiful work we saw to-day. Mr. Essex said it was well known that Sir Thomas Lawrence had forty sittings for that picture."

upright as possible, and no marks of time, except his white hair, upon him. His dress was remarkably neat. He wore black knee-breeches, and black silk stockings with the Garter round his left knee, blue coat with the Star of the Garter, white waistcoat, and white neckcloth with the Golden Fleece round his neck. His manner was animated, and his voice loudish and gay. He was very kind, and talked for some time with me about my father."

Among the minor incidents of the year now drawing to a close, it may be mentioned that Ramsay attended speech-day at Harrow, went to Cambridge to witness the conferring of a degree upon the Duke of Wellington, and revisited Oxford. A dinner was given in his honour at Archer's Hall under the presidency of the Duke of Buccleuch; and although he had failed to enter public life by the door of Parliament, he steadily gained ground in other ways for the work which awaited the busy years before him.

In one respect the year 1835 was the most eventful in his life. On the 18th of March he began to suspect that he was falling in love with the Lady Susan Hay, her who was destined to share his public career, and whose untimely death left him broken in spirit and in health. Into the details of his courtship this is not the place to enter; but if ever his journal for this period should be published, the reader will mark the deep joy which the acceptance of his love called forth in him, and the fervent gratitude with which he prayed that God might bless their union. The announcement of his engagement on the 17th of October gave unbounded satisfaction to his parents; and after the usual delay involved in drawing up the settlements, the marriage took place at Yester on the 21st of January, 1836.

1836, Ramsay's friend Edmonstone being his best man, and Mr. Temple coming up to take part in the ceremony. The tenantry on the two estates of the Earl of Dalhousie and of the Marquis of Tweeddale, with the residents of Gifford, were entertained at a public dinner in the riding-school at Yester, and the village of Gifford was illuminated. Of this illumination Lord Ramsay wrote :

It was illuminated by the villagers themselves, who had agreed to lay by so much of their weekly wages for some time before, to enable them to do it. A compliment which I look on with much more pride and satisfaction than if my friends had lit up the whole city of Edinburgh, for they made a sacrifice to pay it. There were laurel arches, and bonfires, and fireworks, and amid all the blaze and shouting, we drove off to Coalstoun.

Lord and Lady Ramsay settled down to a quiet and happy life at Coalstoun on a modest income of £1400, and the year 1836 ebbed out across golden sands.

1837. On the 9th of January in the following year their first child was born and was named Susan Georgina. The father expressed his lively satisfaction that a girl had been given to him, and it will be seen that this preference was in later years well justified by the loving care with which the daughter took her lost mother's place and supported her father at a crisis in his life.

During the course of the year 1836 Ramsay had been released from the obligation which he had imposed upon himself of waiting for a vacancy in Edinburgh, and he was now pressed to stand for the county of East Lothian. His means did not permit him to undertake the sole liability for the expenses of the contest, but this difficulty was arranged for him, and he at once commenced an active canvass. This task, with his duties as a Cornet of Yeomanry, and as Grand Master Depute

in the Grand Masonic Lodge of Scotland, fully occupied his time. On the completion of his canvass before the spring of 1837, Ramsay found that out of 711 voters on the roll 351 had promised him their support; and making allowance for the possible absence from the poll of some of those opposed to him, and for their equally possible conversion, he calculated upon a majority of about ninety in his favour. The death of the King on the 20th of June, and the accession of Queen Victoria to the throne, soon put his calculations to the test. At the end of July the polling commenced, and when Fergusson retired from the contest, Ramsay was found to be elected by a majority of ninety-three votes. In the following November he took his seat in the House of Commons, though this obliged him, much against his will, to leave his father at Dalhousie Castle in very failing health, and his wife at Coalstoun slowly recovering from illness. He found the proceedings in Parliament somewhat disappointing, but he received much civility and encouragement from Sir Robert Peel, and before long was recognised as a man marked out for distinction.

Alarming accounts of his father's health recalled 1838. him to Dalhousie Castle in February, 1838, and on his arrival Ramsay found the Earl a living skeleton, with mind constantly wandering, quite blind, but comforted by the consolations of religion. He had arranged a pair with Lord Douglas Hallyburton, and consequently was greatly surprised to learn that, on the 7th of March, Lord Douglas had voted with the majority of 316 "Noes" against the amendment proposed by Lord Sandon "that an humble address be presented to Her Majesty to express deep regret at the open revolt in Canada, and the want of foresight and energy shown by Her

Majesty's confidential servants." This amendment, put as a substantive motion on the withdrawal of Sir William Molesworth's original motion, and supported by Sir Robert Peel, was lost by 29 votes, Lord Ramsay being entered as "absent without having paired." Ramsay was thus placed in a most painful dilemma, a conflict between the sense of personal duty to his dying father, and the obvious public obligations to his constituents. His decision was taken without delay, but at the cost of deep sorrow to himself. Posting back at once to London, he published his correspondence with Lord Douglas, and proceeding to the House of Commons gave his vote on the 15th of March in favour of the Corn Laws. This, as it turned out, was the last occasion on which he took part in the proceedings of that House, and in uniting with the 300 "Noes" against the motion of Mr. Villiers, "that the House resolve itself into a committee of the whole House to consider the Act of the 9th of George IV. c. 60, relating to the importation of corn," he followed the example of Sir Robert Peel, Mr. Gladstone, Sir Henry Hardinge, and Mr. J. W. Hogg, afterwards Chairman of the East India Company; while Sir John Hobhouse, then and again from 1846 to 1852 President of the Board of Control, was one of the 95 "Ayes" who supported the motion. Having thus discharged his duty to his constituents and to his own conscience, Ramsay looked out for another pair; but graver news from Dalhousie Castle compelled him to hurry back without arranging this matter.

He had not proceeded far on his journey when he was met by the intelligence that, after his long and painful struggle with disease, his father had "fallen asleep in perfect calm" on the 21st of March. The

funeral followed a few days later; and having looked into his affairs, which proved to be more embarrassed than he had expected, the new Earl returned to London to deliver in person to the Queen the ribbon of the Order of the Bath worn by his father. This done, he rejoined his wife at Coalstoun. In June, when on his way to London, he availed himself of the opportunity to take his degree at Oxford as Master of Arts. The chief object of this journey was to witness the Coronation of Her Most Sacred Majesty; and if at this solemnity he was impressed with the excellence of the official arrangements, he was equally struck with the absence of popular enthusiasm and of reverence inside Westminster Abbey. To this want of enthusiasm there was one exception to which he thus refers in his diary :—

When old Lord Rolle, who is about ninety years of age, had to do homage, there was much difficulty, from his weight and great infirmity, in getting him to the throne. Twice in coming down the transept he fell, but still he persevered. When he came to the steps of the throne, Lord Conyngham took him under one arm, and the Duke of Richmond held his hand; but when he had mounted two steps, his weight overcame Lord Conyngham, the Duke's hand slipped away, and the old man fell backwards and rolled to the floor. There was a cry all over the Abbey, for they thought him killed; but in a minute he was up; he had the spirit of a hero, though he was as feeble as an infant, and again he moved towards the throne. When he reached it, the Queen instead of waiting for him to kneel, as other peers had done, to kiss her hand, rose from her seat and moving a step forward anticipated his intention by extending her hand. Then indeed there was a shout that satisfied, for there was heart in it. This moment was very sweet. There was in it all the dignity and condescension of the Queen, enriched with all the gentleness and kind-heartedness of the girl. That one simple act gained her more hearts and won her more loyalty than all the day's doings besides.

When the Coronation was over, Lord Dalhousie

returned to Scotland, only to find his wife still in poor health. He took her away for change of air, and later on went with her on a tour through the Lake country, which did much to restore her spirits. But this cloud had hardly lifted from his horizon, when from an unexpected quarter a new calamity fell on him. His mother seemed in perfect health and cheerful spirits, 1839. when on the 22nd of January, 1839, during a visit to Dean Ramsay in Edinburgh, she suddenly broke a blood-vessel and fell down dead in the midst of a conversation. Thus Lord Dalhousie was absent from the final scene of parting with both of his parents. In the case of his mother, whom he passionately loved, and of whose death he had received no sort of warning, the blow was cruelly severe. In a moment every link was broken of the chain which knit him to the past, and, as he wrote, "in all but the proud recollection of what my parents were, I feel dissevered from the period beyond my recollection; and the future, with all its duties of public and private life, is now my only sphere of consideration." As the year wore on, the death of John M^cDouall of Logan, by a fall from his horse at Naples, and of Jack Hathorn of Castle Wigg, in London, made him revert to the gaps caused in the circle of his friends and relations, and he clung all the more closely to the one dear life left to him in his wife. Amidst, however, the general gloom which hung over him, he was cheered, and relieved from much anxiety on her account, by the birth on the 6th of October of a second daughter, christened on the 24th of November in the name of Edith Christian.

Although not at present constant in his attendance at the House of Lords, Lord Dalhousie followed closely the course of public events. His diaries are full of

reflections on the Jamaica Bill, the doings of the Chartists, the scandal regarding Lady Flora Hastings, the "unrighteous war" with China, and the debate on Irish affairs. In Scottish affairs he took a more active interest. By the Whig Government he was made a director of prisons in Scotland; while of his own motion he threw himself into the great controversy which arose out of the Auchterarder case, the *causa causans* of the Disruption. He had already been attracted by the eloquence and earnestness of Dr. Chalmers, and had heartily entered into his schemes for Church extension. It was therefore with no little regret that, after a brief collaboration with the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, he felt obliged to withdraw publicly from it, and from all other judicatures of the Church. The circumstances of his withdrawal were characteristic of his courage and honesty. In 1834 the General Assembly had passed "the Veto Law" to prevent the intrusion of a minister into a parish contrary to the will of a majority of the male heads of families, being communicants. Thus the patron's nominee might be set aside without reasons assigned, and if he appealed to the civil courts they generally refused to interfere with the decisions of the Church courts. Lord Kinnoul brought the validity of the Veto Law to a test in the case of Auchterarder, a parish in which only two persons had signed the call, and 287 out of 300 had dissented. In 1838 the Court of Session decided that the presentee's rejection was illegal, and that the Assembly had no power to pass the Veto Act. The House of Lords in 1842 confirmed the lower court's decision, holding that in the settlement of a minister the Church had no legal right to look beyond the qualifications of the presentee as to

life, literature, and morals. The question which came before the Assembly in 1839 concerned the action to be taken by the Church in consequence of the decision of the Court of Session. Dr. Cook was prepared to support the repeal of the Veto, but Lord Dalhousie recognised that the public excitement caused by the Auchterarder case demanded some further change, and that matters had gone too far for a return to "the old system, abuses and all." On the other hand, Dr. Chalmers was for reiterating the "principle integral in the constitution of the Church and fundamental, viz., that no minister should be put into a parish contrary to the will of the congregation." After a study of the voluminous record of the Auchterarder case, Lord Dalhousie stated as the conclusion at which he had arrived "that while the Church can never for a moment permit the civil courts to trench upon her in the exercise of her spiritual functions, she is bound to submit to the decision of those courts in matters which they hold to be an infringement of civil rights, and to retrace any of her steps which may have been pronounced by the law to be beyond her own proper province." Such being the views held by Dr. Chalmers and the Earl of Dalhousie respectively, the latter has been charged with a want of good faith in refusing to sit upon a committee of inquiry which the former proposed. The story of this refusal is told with variations in the *Friend of India*, in Hanna's *Life of Dr. Chalmers*, and in Buchanan's *Ten Years' Conflict*. Captain Trotter thinks it necessary to defend Lord Dalhousie from any charge of intentional deceit or treachery, but he tells his readers that the Earl was said to have favoured the motion made by Dr. Chalmers. Although the heat of the great controversy

has now subsided, it may still be of interest to many to hear what Lord Dalhousie had to say upon the subject immediately after his public withdrawal from the Assembly.

What occurred before the meeting at which the debate took place may be briefly stated. In an interview with Dr. Chalmers, Lord Dalhousie frankly told him that he could not support his resolutions, and nothing that the Doctor said in answer at all shook this determination. When they parted, it was with the impression on Lord Dalhousie's mind that Dr. Chalmers advocated the out-and-out principle of Veto not because he himself was wedded to it, but because those whose violence he hoped to soften would have nothing less. With this feeling, and as some of all parties would necessarily have to serve on the committee which Dr. Chalmers wished to obtain, Lord Dalhousie, though dissenting from so many of the resolutions to be considered, agreed to form one of that body. To his dismay, he found that this action had given rise to a report widely credited that he was to second Dr. Chalmers's proposals, and all that he could do in the interval was to assure those who questioned him on the matter that he had never contemplated anything of the kind.

On Wednesday the 22nd of May the subject came on. 1839. Dr. Cook opened the debate in a quiet but able speech, and proposed his motion, with an addition which went beyond his original intention, and instructed Presbyteries always to take into consideration a candidate's special fitness as well as his general eligibility. Dr. Chalmers followed in a speech of three hours' duration. But from the outset, as throughout the whole address, Lord Dalhousie was thunderstruck to see that, while

the Doctor indignantly, and no doubt sincerely, disclaimed being the leader of the extreme party, he was delivering their sentiments in their full vigour, and if anything aggravating their violence. The scene is thus described in his diary :—

Dr. Chalmers hurled defiance at the State, abused the judges, ridiculed the power of the courts, told them that, so far from thinking the Church obliged by the State refraining from urging on the enforcement of its power in this matter, he considered that the State should be very grateful to him, if it only knew the difficulty which he had had in keeping many of the ablest and best of the clergy of Scotland from compelling the State to retrace its steps. He scouted the idea of the Church considering itself at all dependent upon the State, declared that he now highly approved of the declaration of independence made by the last General Assembly, and in short completely identified himself with the party who supported those views and carried that motion of independence. I was mortified beyond all measure, not because Dr. Chalmers had misled me (for I believed him to be incapable of such a thing, and to have had no such intention); but because I was deeply disappointed to find that where I had looked for a peace-maker, I had found a firebrand, and the hand which I thought would have held out the olive branch was raised to sound the trumpet of defiance.

What above all confounded him was that there existed no opening for saying that it was done in the heat of debate and on the spur of the moment, for every word of it was written, and the Doctor read it from a desk.

Dr. Muir followed with his motion, but Dr. Chalmers defeated it by thirty-six votes, and then Dr. Cook's motion was lost by forty-seven votes. Lord Dalhousie returned home to pass a sleepless night. He determined that he would not serve on Dr. Chalmers's committee, but would retire from the Assembly and take no part in its proceedings so long as it remained

in an attitude of determined opposition to the law of the land. Accordingly, on the day following the events just described, he obtained leave to address the Assembly, and, having done so, immediately left the meeting. Other members, including Lord Selkirk and Lord Tweeddale, also withdrew, though without any formal expression of their dissent.

Lord Dalhousie was the last man to carry public or conscientious differences into private life. Being invited to dine with the Moderator, he therefore at once accepted, and finding Dr. Chalmers there, he walked up to him and expressed the hope that although these late misapprehensions now marked out for each a different line of action, yet it would not interrupt the intercourse and friendship which had existed between them. Ill-advised friends lightly congratulated him upon the line he had taken. But he was in no humour for any trifling with a matter in which the duty he felt called upon to discharge had caused him deeper pain than he had ever known in his life. His view was that the Church had arrogated to herself a power which did not belong to her, and placed herself in an attitude of defiance to the law. But while his duty as a citizen, as a magistrate, and as a member of the Legislature left him no option but withdrawal from the Church's presbyteries and the General Assembly, he would not quit her communion or abandon his duties as a private office-bearer of the Church.

As time, however, went on, the public difference ^{1840.} between Lord Dalhousie and Dr. Chalmers could only become intensified. The Dunkeld case was followed by the "Strathbogie controversy" regarding Marnoch, with its acute conflicts between the Church and the

civil courts, which lasted until the final secession of 470 ministers and the constitution of the Free Church of Scotland in 1843. Before that crisis was reached, Lord Dalhousie and Dr. Muir made a further and fruitless effort to effect a compromise. But the parties were irreconcilable, and the Vetoists carried the war into the election for Perthshire, into domestic circles of private life, and into the public services of the Church. Opponents of the Veto were denounced from the pulpit as "traitors to Jesus," and congregations and men of the same household were divided against each other. Dr. Chalmers expected that the Whig Government would legalise the Veto by Act of Parliament, but Lord Dalhousie had the political insight to warn him that there was no prospect of any such measure. At last the Government, after fencing with the question, announced in Parliament that the difficulties were so great and opinions so divided that it was impossible "to please both parties," and that they would do nothing at all. In this dilemma, Lord Aberdeen introduced into the House of Lords his "Church of Scotland Benefices Bill." This Bill provided that "in the event of the people entertaining any objection, of any kind whatever, to the individual presented, or against his settlement in that particular parish, the Presbytery shall receive the said objection either then or at their next meeting, to be without delay considered and disposed of." Any objections might be considered, "due regard being had to the whole circumstances of the parish, and the spiritual welfare and edification of the people." The Bill proposed in fact the very remedy which Lord Dalhousie had suggested; but as soon as it was tabled, the extreme party in the Scottish Church denounced it

from the Tweed to John o' Groats, and the supporters of Lord Melbourne's Government treated the compromise as a party attack. On the 16th of June 1840 the Bill was read a second time in the House of Lords, and carried by a majority of seventy-four votes against twenty-seven. Lord Dalhousie's speech in support was characterised by Lord Melbourne as "the very able and powerful address," and by Lord Brougham as "the able, brilliant, and powerful address of the noble Earl opposite." Lord Lyndhurst, the Duke of Wellington, and many others congratulated the speaker warmly, and the *Morning Post*, the *Morning Herald*, and the *Spectator* joined in the chorus of praise. The speech, which lasted an hour and a half, was indeed one of exceptional power and eloquence, delivered perhaps, as was said, with too rapid an utterance, but clear in argument and full of pertinent facts. Lord Dalhousie held that the principle of non-intrusion was not, to the extent of an absolute rejection without reason or objection stated, a fundamental principle of the Church of Scotland. In support of this view he quoted the "Books of Discipline," appealed in detail to the practice of the Protestant Churches of all ages and countries, and then explained the law established by the Act of 1692, and by the Act of Union. Dealing with the question whether Lord Aberdeen's Bill was likely to prove satisfactory and successful, he showed that the General Assembly imperfectly represented the clerical feeling, and in no sense public opinion; and he exposed by many telling instances the hollow character of the petitions presented to Parliament. Of seventy newspapers in Scotland, sixty were opposed to the Veto. No doubt there was a strong section of the clergy

who would not be satisfied, men determined to submit neither to the civil courts nor to the legislature, unless the law was framed to meet their views. They argued "we are the Church of Christ, and the Establishment did not make us a Church." But, as Lord Dalhousie pointed out, they failed to distinguish between *a* Church in Scotland and *the* Church of Scotland. The Church of Scotland was established with conditions and reservations, conditions which the earliest reformers and ministers had accepted as scriptural and proper. Those who entered the Church, and enjoyed its endowments, must not refuse to fulfil the conditions upon which those endowments had been conferred. It was admitted by Dr. Chalmers that patrons had never in the past acted more faithfully than at the present time, and the security which the proposed measure would afford would in Lord Dalhousie's opinion guarantee the real principle of non-intrusion as established by the great fathers of the Presbyterian Church—Calvin, Beza, Melville, and John Knox. In spite, however, of the Bill having passed its second reading with so substantial a majority, Lord Aberdeen, in view of the opposition with which it was met by the Government, saw the futility of further effort at the moment. The success achieved in the House of Lords only served to redouble the agitation in Scotland, one party canvassing the ministry and elders in favour of Lord Aberdeen's measure, and the other piling up memorials in favour of the Veto.

The hopes and ambitions which the Earl of Dalhousie had reasonably formed as a consequence of his first parliamentary success, were checked for the time by the loss of a lawsuit upon which turned his succession to the Logan estates. His mother had been

regarded as heiress presumptive to her uncle, Colonel Andrew M^cDouall of Logan, in consequence of a dispute as to the legitimacy of his son James, which turned upon the domicile of his mother. The cause, first heard in the Court of Session in January, 1832, was finally settled by the House of Lords in 1840 in favour of the disputed legitimacy of M^cDouall; and Lord Dalhousie, who had incurred an outlay of £2500 in costs, found himself disappointed of a property worth £10,000 a year, upon which he had in some measure counted. His own estates were heavily encumbered, his income was small, and the decree was "as nearly as possible equivalent to ruin," since his means would no longer be sufficient to meet the expenses which a career in Parliament entailed. While smarting from this blow, he had to face another serious trouble, for his wife when walking with him in Edinburgh slipped on a piece of orange-peel, and in her delicate state of health the consequences were of a very serious nature. But if for the moment he was inclined to despond, his Ramsay courage quickly reasserted itself, and holding up his family motto, "*ora et labora*," he reflected that his ancestors had "not crawled through seven centuries," and he at once determined to fight his battle with fortune in a manner worthy of the traditions he had inherited.

Before passing away from the eventful year 1840, I will refer to one matter which may, I think, be of interest to the reader. The city of Edinburgh had determined to erect a statue to the Duke of Wellington, and Lord Dalhousie, as chairman of the committee, had with considerable tact piloted the scheme through all its difficulties of party politics, provincial jealousies, and social heart-burnings. The question of the choice

of the artist to undertake the statue of the Duke was also hotly debated, and local claims carried the day, fortunately as it turned out, in favour of Mr. Steell. But it is not necessary further to enter into these details, Lord Dalhousie's interview with the Duke is, however, of more permanent interest. The Duke was gratified to learn that persons of every opinion had subscribed, and he replied as follows :—

I am happy to hear this, and I beg you will do me the favour of assuring the gentlemen in Scotland how much I am gratified by the honour they have done me. Since I have been the means of rendering public services to the country, it is worthy of the people of Scotland thus to manifest their appreciation of my conduct; and particularly worthy of the son of one of those officers by whose exertions and assistance I was enabled to perform those services. The value of these memorials is in the example, and I applaud the spirit in which they are raised, for when the country is seen commemorating its gratitude for the exertions of any man who has endeavoured to serve it to the best of his ability, it acts as an example to all others to put forth whatever powers they may have in order to serve their country.

1841. Early in the new year, 1841, Lord Dalhousie received an intimation from his party leaders that his presence in the House of Lords was urgently required. In order to provide the funds necessary for residence in town, he let Coalstoun, and left it with a sad heart. His spirits were not raised by a communication which he received at this time, and which he properly regarded as a gross insult. The incident is interesting as a piece of history, showing that, notwithstanding the application to India of the Sale of Offices Act (49 Geo. III. c. 126), an underhand traffic still existed in East India appointments. A military officer in Afghanistan wrote to ask Lord Dalhousie's interest in obtaining writerships in India for relations of his own and of a friend, in return

for which good offices he had the impudence to say, "I will send you £2000, of which a half will pay my mother's debt, and the other £1000 you will put into your pocket." For the two nominations £4000 was to be paid. Lord Dalhousie's fury boiled over at this insult, and he replied that equally as a public man and a private gentleman he rejected the proposal with the utmost indignation, and declined further communication with the writer.

Soon after his arrival in London Lord Dalhousie took part in the trial of James Thomas, Earl of Cardigan, who had been convicted by a bench of magistrates at Wandsworth for fighting a duel with Captain Harvey Phipps Tuckett on Wimbledon Common in the autumn of 1840. It was a fair fight, conducted with perfect regard to the practice of duels, and Captain Tuckett had no wish to prosecute. The prosecution broke down owing to want of evidence as to identity, and it was popularly supposed that the Ministry had designedly presented the case in an imperfect form. Lord Dalhousie states, on the authority of Best, that on the contrary the prosecution was conducted with unusual rigour and a desire to convict, but the failure was due to pure stupidity. At any rate, the Peers severally laying their hands on their breasts were conscientiously enabled to pronounce the opinion "not guilty." Later on in the session Lord Dalhousie asked Lord Aberdeen his intentions with reference to the Church of Scotland, expressing his opinion that the dissatisfaction of the extreme party of non-intrusionists and their growing demands had made it expedient to leave them face to face with the law. Lord Aberdeen replied that the measure he had intended to bring forward would be dropped in view both of the con-

siderations stated and of the opposition offered to it by the Government. Meanwhile the agitation gained ground in Scotland. Edinburgh rejected its Veto-Provost; and Glasgow and Perth sent anti-Veto representatives as elders to the General Assembly. All parties found fault with the Government for not dealing with the question, and Lord Dunfermline, late Speaker of the House of Commons, expressed the view that their inaction meant "death to them." The Ministry, however, struggled on from day to day despite several defeats on their Irish Registration Bill. Then followed, on the 18th of May, a more serious defeat, by 36 votes, on the reduction of the duty on foreign sugars, and at last Sir Robert Peel moved a vote of want of confidence, which on the 4th of June he carried by a single vote. This momentous news reached the Earl of Dalhousie while he was enjoying with his wife the rugged scenery of Arran, and he returned home to watch from thence the tug-of-war in a general election.

Party feeling, already sufficiently embittered, was further aggravated by the enforced retirement of Lord Plunket, the Irish Chancellor, to make way for Lord Dalhousie's former opponent, the late Attorney-General, now Baron Campbell, in order that he might be entitled to a retiring pension of £4000 a year. In Scotland the General Assembly proclaimed the 22nd of July as a day of fasting and humiliation, and issued a pastoral address regarding the Lord's "controversy with us, and the day of trial," which Dr. Muir and other ministers refused to read. It was characteristic of Lord Dalhousie that although he regretted this party move, and scented "a smell of the Vatican about their address," yet he kept the day, as ordered, from "a natural sense of decency and submission to authority." The action of

the General Assembly failed to allay the Church controversy, and the election ran its course of bitterness and strife, ending in the return of 367 Conservatives and 286 Whigs.

On the 24th of August the Queen's Speech was read by the Lord Chancellor to the new Parliament. It called attention to the principle of protection as possibly injurious¹ to the income of the State and to the interests of the people. In the House of Lords, Lord Spencer moved the Address, and Lord Ripon proposed, as an amendment, to represent to Her Majesty that the confidence of the House and the country was not reposed in her present advisers. The Upper House divided the same day, showing a majority of 72 against the Government. In the House of Commons Mr. Stuart Wortley proposed a similar amendment, and was supported by Lord Bruce, in whose speech Lord Dalhousie took a lively interest. The division took place on the fourth day of the debate, with the result that Lord Melbourne was defeated by a majority of 91 in a House of 629 members.

Sir Robert Peel was now entrusted by Her Majesty with the task of forming a Ministry, and in doing so he obtained the adhesion of Lord Ripon, Lord Stanley, and Sir James Graham, seceders from Lord Grey's party. From Lord Aberdeen the Earl of Dalhousie received a communication to the effect that there was nothing good enough to offer him at present, but that "the Duke of Wellington, Sir Robert Peel and myself hold you in the highest estimation, and you may rely upon it that you will not be lost sight of." A suggestion that he

¹ Hume carried a motion in 1840 for a Select Committee to inquire into import duties. He claimed to show that our tariffs contained 1150 articles, of which 400 produced on the average only £13 : 16s. each.

should be appointed Commissioner to the General Assembly had been considered, but was rejected by the Ministry on the ground that he had taken too prominent and decided a part in the Church question. On the other hand a proposal made by Sir Robert Peel, to which it was understood that Her Majesty would give her cordial assent, that he should be nominated for an appointment in the Queen's Household, was one that Lord Dalhousie was unwilling to accept, as being in his own opinion unfit for the office. He had been little in London, his private means were small, and he felt that he had not that extensive circle of acquaintances in society which appeared to him necessary for the efficient discharge of the duties of a Lord in Waiting. Having satisfied himself that he could decline the offer with proper gratitude to the Queen for her gracious intentions, Lord Dalhousie made up his mind that for the present he must relinquish all hope of public office, more especially as the post of Under-Secretary in the Home Department, for which he thought himself best fitted, was already filled. Since he had expected nothing, he was not disappointed on his own account, but he expressed a keen sense of regret at the omission of his friend Bruce from the ranks of office, and confided to those nearest to him the feeling that he himself would have accepted with pleasure the position of Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard which was conferred on Lord Lothian. Upon one point all his friends were agreed, that it was his duty to transfer his home to London, and to take in future an active part in public affairs.

Though the prospect of severance from the quiet charms of home life and the scenes which he loved in Scotland was painful to Lord Dalhousie, and though his wife's health was far from being restored, he felt

that the sacrifice must be made. He therefore returned to Scotland to put his affairs there in order, and to effect needful economies. For a time at least he would be prepared, as he said, "to burn the candle at both ends in London," and with his mind resolved he set out for the metropolis, accompanied by his wife. He had not, however, proceeded further than Newcastle when Lady Dalhousie was taken seriously unwell, and he found himself watching by her bedside as the year 1841 gave way to its successor.

On her recovery the journey was continued; but ¹⁸⁴² before the Dalhousies took up their abode at 36 Chesham Place it had been intimated to them by Sir George Couper that Her Majesty contemplated appointing Lady Dalhousie to the post of Lady of the Bed-chamber in succession to Lady Sandwich, who was then, in December, coming into waiting for the last time. Lady Dalhousie was highly gratified with the honour, the more so because the idea of the appointment originated with Her Majesty and not with the Minister, while Lord Dalhousie felt additional pleasure in the reflection that his wife should have entered office before himself. The appointment was actually gazetted on the 21st of January, 1842, on the sixth anniversary of their wedding. The letter in which the Queen graciously communicated to Lady Dalhousie her offer of the situation concluded with this kindly sentence:—"I am sorry to hear that your health has not been quite good, but I do not think that you would find the duties of your office very fatiguing." Lord Dalhousie felt that nothing could be more gracious, condescending, and kind than this letter, and assured himself that it was only an indication of what the kindness of her treatment would be. But as the time

approached Lady Dalhousie became very nervous, and suffered from constant attacks of *tic-douloureux*. Her misgivings were increased by the doubts which the Duchess of Buccleuch, Mistress of the Robes, expressed to her as to her ability to stand the strain of duty; and after one experience of it she was positively forbidden by the doctors to renew the attempt. The Queen readily made arrangements to relieve her Lady of the Bedchamber from duty until her health should prove equal to the task; but the unanimous and persistent advice of her doctors constrained Lady Dalhousie to tender her resignation, and Lady Canning succeeded to her office. Who would then have dared to prophesy that Lord Dalhousie himself would in the course of a few years resign a higher post to Lord Canning?

For the present, his hopes of finding active employment in the service of the Crown were alternately buoyed up and cast down. His name was freely mentioned in connection with the appointments of Governor of Madras and Governor of Bombay. But Lord Tweeddale was selected for the former, and was also gazetted Commander-in-Chief of the local army in accordance with the view "that in the present disturbed state of India, and in the lamentable want of capable military men in command there, it was absolutely necessary that the civil Governors sent there should hold also supreme military command as well as the highest civil authority." Sir George Arthur was sent to Bombay. As the year advanced, a vacancy occurred in the office of Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands, but the same objection was raised to the appointment of a civilian, and it was held that here also the military and civil powers must be united in the person of the supreme authority. To make up in some

measure for these disappointments, affairs in Parliament gave Lord Dalhousie occasional opportunities for distinguishing himself. He seconded the Address on the Queen's Speech, and was complimented in no formal terms upon his success. He was also selected to take a part in the debate on the Property Tax Bill; but the course of the discussion shifted away from the line of his instructions, and he remained silent. His discretion was, however, highly commended by the Duke of Wellington, who duly appreciated a reserve which a less discreet statesman, already primed with a speech, might not have shown.

Mr. Arbuthnot, the Duke's friend, was very assiduous in trying to promote the interests of Lord Dalhousie, and constantly cheered him by repetition of the encouraging remarks made about him by persons high at Court, or by members of the Government. Perhaps the most valuable, and certainly the most interesting, experiences of this period of inactivity in his life were his visits to the Duke of Wellington. He treasured up numerous anecdotes of the Duke's career; and full accounts of his observations upon past events and current politics. Those only which bear upon India have a direct interest for the readers of this biography, and from them the following are selected. News of the miserable fate of Sir W. Macnaghten and of our troops in Afghanistan had lately reached England, and the Duke remarked that this was only "a disastrous fulfilment" of his own "prophecy that the Afghan war was an error and would prove a failure." The behaviour of our troops, and their abandonment of the women would "vibrate in the heart of every Mussulman from Peking to Constantinople. Just look at the effect these things are having already in France! That's what I

meant when I said that a great country like this could never have a little war. As soon as a great country like ours engages in operations, other nations watch what she is doing, and take advantage of it." Dealing with the ever-present question of political officers, as they are called in India, the Duke condemned the practice of placing general officers in a position of subordination to them. "It is all very well," he said, "that the envoy at the Court of these Powers should have authority to direct the officer commanding the troops attached to that Power; but that the Resident should have the power of directing the operations of general officers in command of large bodies of troops in detached positions, through inferior political agents living in their camps, is absurd. It is impossible for general officers, under such circumstances, to act with energy and effect." His Grace also commented strongly on the incapacity of the general officers then in India, reviving a remark which he made in Spain, "I hope the French tremble as much as I do when they read over the list of our general officers." Lord Dalhousie, as fate willed it, had not been a year in India before John Lawrence expressed to him even stronger and more disparaging views as to the qualifications of his generals, and it will be seen¹ that he did not hesitate to break down the rule of seniority and introduce the system of selection for brigade and divisional commands in India.

But the Duke was not content with a general condemnation. He gave chapter and verse for his opinion, mentioning the names of commanders-in-chief and generals of divisions who had left their posts when war was imminent, or proved themselves incapable in the

¹ Vol. ii. chap. viii. p. 287.

conduct of it. "There was nobody who could say, if any difficulty was made, 'Well, if you can't do it, I'll do it myself.' That was the way I used to do. I used to put myself at the head of the troops, and do the thing myself." Then, again, the prancing proclamations issued by Lord Ellenborough came under the severest criticisms of the Duke, though he approved of his actions as generally correct. Of one of those proclamations his Grace remarked, "He says a great deal about his triumphs and the honour of the British armies; but he does not ascribe all to that great God, to whom, as we repeat every day, belong all the power and glory." When the Duke heard of Lord Ellenborough's commemorative preparations, and of his intention to have the army drawn up in the form of a star, with the artillery at the points, and a throne in the centre on which the Governor-General was to sit, he added, "and if the Governor-General is only dressed for the occasion in a strait waistcoat, the thing will be quite perfect." Society, as well as statesmen, poked their fun at the Governor-General. Lady Clanricarde hearing that the Duke had described the proclamation as a song of triumph, pithily observed, "Well, it may be a song of triumph, but it is not Solomon's song." Lord Palmerston remarked to one of his friends in the House, "Ellenborough's business is capital. It isn't a fox chase where you find your fox, run into him, and kill him; but it's a stag chase, where you catch your animal, and then turn him out and hunt him again and again." The time came when Lord Dalhousie had to pen historic proclamations as Governor-General of India, and the lessons he learnt in 1842 were not wasted.

The Duke had something to say about diplomacy also. "Finessing won't do in our diplomacy. Our

strength is our moral strength, and we should rely upon that." His Grace's views about checks in war recurred to Lord Dalhousie in the days of the Sikh revolt:—"If you check a conqueror, his successes melt like a snowball. So it was with Napoleon in Portugal"; and so it might have been in the Punjab had not Lord Dalhousie stood firm and refused to move until he was prepared to conquer. Again, the Duke condemned the practice of a man's friends defending him in the press, saying that "in all his life he had never regarded such attacks, or by the press defended himself, and he recommended that statesmen should wait quietly until Parliament met, and then let justice be done to them." During one of these conversations an interesting but melancholy piece of biography was related concerning that eminent Governor-General, the Marquis Wellesley, brother to the Duke. "Notwithstanding his brilliant career, his original fortune, his high appointments, and great opportunities, he died a beggar. The East India Company lately gave him £20,000, but it had melted away; he died deeply in debt, and the Duke of Wellington had to pay the expenses of his funeral." On the employment of soldiers in Afghanistan to collect taxes, the Duke spoke thus:—"We have always avoided it in India. But they let them do it in Afghanistan. Well, what is the consequence? Some day there is a riot; the people resisting the payment of the tax, assault the scattered soldiers, and they kill some. Their courage rises; their terror of our power is broken; the man says, 'I killed one of these fellows to-day; I will kill ten to-morrow'; and so the whole country rises upon us." There is only one other remark of the Duke, although it was made some years later, to which I need

here refer as bearing upon events that will be dealt with hereafter. A reference was made to the large military reductions effected by Lord Hardinge, who flattered himself that an era of tranquillity was opening for India. "I never could understand," said the Duke, "why he was in such a d——d hurry." The events which will be narrated in this work may induce the reader to concur in this criticism.

Before Parliament rose it was announced that the Queen would pay a visit to Scotland as the guest of the Duke of Buccleuch. As the Royal Guard of Archers would be required, under Lord Elcho, to take their share in the proceedings, Lord Dalhousie, who was now a Major-General in the corps, returned to his own castle to prepare for the ceremony. The royal passage was delayed by fog and other difficulties, and after seventy-two hours spent on board her yacht, Her Majesty landed at Granton pier on the 1st of September, anxious to get to her destination as quickly as possible. The crowds of loyal Scots broke all bounds, and the archers were either driven in towards the Queen's carriage, so that their officers were actually crushed against it, or else left hopelessly outside the procession. Much disappointment was caused to the public of Edinburgh by the rapid progress of the royal party, and fears were entertained lest the illuminations which had been prepared should be given up in order to mark this feeling. But the Queen, with her gracious tact, arranged for a procession through the city on another day, and her triumphal progress was then rewarded by a "deep tremendous roar of popularity and one universal flutter of happiness."

Nor was Her Majesty forgetful of a former member of her household. For on Sunday the 4th of September

she drove quietly over to Dalhousie Castle, and without previous notice paid a visit to the Earl and his Countess. Of this visit Lord Dalhousie naturally recorded a full account, and since he narrates the whole of his conversations with the Prince and with Her Majesty, I am constrained to throw doubt upon the proof of the "somewhat haughty courtesy which in later years grew upon him," afforded by the alleged fact that "he playfully reminded Her Majesty that the last English sovereign who had approached the castle, Henry IV., never gained admission."¹ Not having received any intimation of the intended visit, and only seeing Prince Albert on the gravel in front of the castle, Lord Dalhousie approached his illustrious visitor.

As I came up from the terrace, the Prince laughingly said, "Lord Dalhousie, we have come to see your fortress." I cried from a distance, "I am quite ready to give up the keys to your Royal Highness; and to your Majesty," I added, as the lady who sate in the phaeton turned round and showed me the features of the Queen! By this time I stood hat in hand by the side of the phaeton, and answered the little questions which she put to me. Sitting at the door, she looked up at the arms and the drawbridge slits, and I told her of the age of the castle, and that the last sovereign from England who had placed himself before it was Henry IV. After a moment's pause, she hoped that Lady Dalhousie was quite well. I humbly thanked Her Majesty, and added that Lady Dalhousie could not know that Her Majesty was there, and I asked for permission to send for her.

In the autumn Lady Dalhousie and her husband resumed their residence in Chesham Place. The health of the former compelled them to live a quiet life, and the passing away of the year 1842 brought the reflection that, despite many trials, the twelve months had not been without their compensations of happiness.

¹ *Rulers of India*, the Marquis of Dalhousie, p. 27.

Those trials were indeed but small when compared with the succession of sorrows which fell upon him during the five years which have formed the subject of this chapter. For during them he had had to witness and endeavour to cheer his father's failing health and faculties, to mourn his death, and the appallingly sudden end of his beloved mother; to watch with ever-increasing anxiety his wife's delicacy of constitution; to struggle against the heavy debt which he found upon his estate; to see himself only the more deeply involved by his defeat in the lawsuit for the property which he had hoped would extricate him from all difficulties; and more than once to be passed over for office, though he had powerful friends, and had manifested beyond all question his fitness for responsibility. But behind the clouds that those five years had banked up, he was now to descry the silver streak of active employment in the service of his country; and in the successes which speedily attended his entry into official life, it will be seen that the years of waiting were years of discipline rich in their reward.

CHAPTER III

PUBLIC OFFICE IN ENGLAND

Appointment as Captain of Deal Castle, 1843—Becomes Vice-President of the Board of Trade—Admission to the Privy Council—Vice-President's official responsibilities—Debates in the House of Lords—Lady Dalhousie's ill-health, 1844—Further successes in debates in the Upper House—Growing unpopularity of Sir R. Peel—Recall of Lord Ellenborough—Mr. Gladstone's arrangements for work—Great strain upon Lord Dalhousie owing to railway mania—A new year of honours opens with disappointment, 1845—On Gladstone's retirement Sidney Herbert enters the Cabinet and Lord Dalhousie becomes President of Board—Official duties increased—Sir Robert Peel resigns, but on the failure of Lord John Russell to form a ministry, resumes office—Lord Dalhousie enters the Cabinet, and resumes office at the Board of Trade—Lord Dalhousie's speech on the Corn Laws—Pressure of work at Board of Trade—Sir Robert Peel resigns, 27th June 1846—Prospects of a Coalition Ministry—Offer of a seat in the Whig Cabinet refused—A further offer of office as President of Railway Board—His relations with his party defined—Conversations with the Duke of Wellington on Gough's conduct of the Sikh War—Takes small share in politics—Appointment as Governor-General of India, 10th August 1847—Conditions attached to his acceptance of office—Farewell dinner given by the E.I. Company—Article in the *Times* on his appointment—Departure for India and stay in Madras—Arrival in Calcutta and assumption of office, 12th January 1848.

1843. ON the 24th of January, 1843, Lord Dalhousie returned home from dinner to find a letter from the Duke of Wellington informing him that his commission as Captain of Deal Castle had been signed. "This was my

first public office," he records in his diary; "and I hold it not from the Crown or from the Minister, but of his own gift and goodwill, from the foremost man in all the world." On the 29th of January the Captain took possession of the Castle, receiving "a return of the garrison, consisting of myself, a lieutenant, a porter, and eight gunners, all of whom, except myself, were reported unfit for service." But it was not until the middle of May that he and his family settled down in residence at the old fortress built in the reign of Henry VIII., with its six bastions and round tower, to which Lord Carrington, the last Captain but one, had added its modern and more commodious rooms. In the middle of October the Duke of Wellington, Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports, held a Court of *Lode-manage* at Dover, and to this the Captain of Deal was summoned, together with the Lieutenant of Dover, and the Captains of Walmer Castle, Sandown Castle, Archcliffe Fort, Moats Bulwark, and some minor forts. The jurisdiction of the Court had not then been subjected to the regulations afterwards introduced by the Merchant Shipping Act of 1854. Its powers in 1843 are thus described by Lord Dalhousie:—"The Court is a Pilot Court, called of *Lode-manage*, signifying, I believe, the management of laden vessels. It has control of the pilots of the Cinque Ports, who enjoy, with the Trinity House pilots, the privilege of piloting ships up the river, and on these adjoining coasts." A further duty was that of testing the efficiency of candidates for the office of pilot, and the Captain of Deal, with his customary energy, took an active part in the examination, the Duke concluding the proceedings by swearing-in the selected candidates and warning them to cultivate sobriety.

An opportunity soon occurred for employing Lord

Dalhousie's abilities to better purpose in the public service, and "the turn in the long lane" was reached. Lord Fitzgerald and Vescei, President of the Board of Control, died suddenly, and Lord Ripon took his place in the middle of May, 1843. In the consequent shuffling of the ministerial cards, Mr. Gladstone became President of the Board of Trade, and Lord Dalhousie was appointed his Vice-President. On the 25th of May Sir Robert Peel wrote to intimate that Her Majesty cordially approved of the appointment, and nothing remained to be done except to admit the new Vice-President as a member of the Privy Council. The function was fixed for the 10th of June, and it was then very nearly postponed owing to an untoward mistake, which is described in the diary in the following words :—

To-day at 3 o'clock I drove up to the door of Buckingham Palace to attend a Privy Council, at which I was to be sworn in. When I got out at the door the page looked doubtingly and displeasedly at my attire, and said, "My Lord, I am afraid you are not properly dressed." Now I had flattered myself that I was particularly well dressed to-day, and I was accordingly much huffed by the page's criticism. He explained, however, that everybody must be in uniform; and Lord Exeter, who just then came in, fully dressed, confirmed the statement. I then perceived that I was in a proper scrape. I was not in uniform; I had no uniform here; mine was at Deal Castle; what on earth was I to do? A knot of ministers gathered round us: "You had better go to Douro's and put on his red coat—that will do," said the Duke at last. "But I am not a soldier, sir," I suggested. "Never mind. You're a volunteer, or in the militia, or the yeomanry, or something; anything will do," he persisted. Then Buccleuch offered me his Archer's uniform. "It will never fit me; it will be far too large," I said. "Never mind," said the old Duke again, "they'll only say you've got a bad tailor, that's all!" At last it was agreed I should try to get Buccleuch's uniform, and to be back in time. I ran downstairs, went ever so far down the Mall to Buccleuch's carriage. Drove to Montagu House, rushed up—

stairs to the Duke's dressing-room, and there, by great good luck, I found Ramel. Poor "Mr. Ramble's" face expressed the utmost astonishment when I demanded His Grace's Archer's uniform; but when he understood the emergency, nothing could exceed his willingness. I drew on everything as fast as I could drag. The trousers, to be sure, were some inches too long, and the coat most liberal in its length of waist; the arms seemed to me to be down to the tips of my fingers, and the collar to rise, I know not how far, above my ears. Still I was only too thankful to get them, and I hurried back to the palace. There I arrived full a quarter of an hour before I was wanted, and found to my great ease that Mr. Pemberton, who had come to be sworn in as Chancellor of the Duchy of Cornwall, had gone off on the same errand, and had not yet returned. He also arrived in time.

The ceremony was concluded without any remark; but a few days afterwards Prince Albert observed with a smile to Lord Dalhousie, as he passed at a levée, "I see you have got on your official dress." "Yes, sir," replied the Vice-President, "it is the first time I have worn it; and happily this time, sir, the coat is my own."

Sir Robert Peel had warned Lord Dalhousie that he would have a busy time in his new office, and his words were not belied by the facts. Not only had the Vice-President to take charge of the business of the Board of Trade in the Upper House, but he was also called upon to assist other departments in the conduct of their Bills, and to fill up gaps in debate. He found ready help at hand in his private secretary at the Board, Mr. Courtenay, who afterwards accompanied him to India. Mr. Gladstone lent him all his own papers and memoranda, and assured his colleague that, for himself, he would "not exchange this office of Trade for any other department in the Government, as he found it in the highest degree interesting." As showing the volume

of work which devolved upon Lord Dalhousie, the following extract may be made from his diary of the 16th of July :—

For some time the Chancellor of the Exchequer had let me alone about the sugar duties, and I was in hopes it was to be put on other shoulders, but he again came to the charge. The Duke desired me to bring him the papers, and on Monday he said to me, "Ah, the Sugar Bill comes on to-night. You had better answer Lord Monteaule, and I will back you up." I went off in despair to the office. Here was my position. That night I was to defend the sugar duties, of which I knew nothing, against Lord Monteaule, who had made this and similar subjects the study of his life. The same night there was the Scotch Church, on which Lord Aberdeen had bullied me to speak ; and on the following day there was the Canada Corn Bill, which I had to introduce, and which was to be my official *début*. I did my best, and went to the House most miserable. Then, to my great delight, Lord Monteaule crossed the House, and said that, as a treaty with Brazil was in progress, he should postpone his remarks. I felt like a culprit relieved.

Thus relieved, Lord Dalhousie devoted his attention to the Canada Wheat Bill, by which Canadian wheat was to be subjected to a reduced duty of only one instead of five shillings a quarter, as against four shillings a quarter imposed upon wheat grown in the United States, ground in Canada, and imported into the United Kingdom. On the 4th of July, 1843, he moved that their Lordships should go into Committee, making an excellent speech, which drew forth high praise from Lord Stanhope and the Duke of Richmond. The motion was carried by a majority of thirty-two soon after midnight, and the Duke of Wellington informed Mr. Arbuthnot that he had never heard anything better done, adding that Lord Dalhousie's success, and his early admission to the Cabinet, were perfectly assured. The speech was a thoroughly business-like speech, and the

force and tact which distinguished it were as telling as its well-argued substance.

But while the Vice-President was by no means insensible to the compliments bestowed upon him by statesmen whose opinion he valued, he prized even more highly the approbation of his own conscience and the gratitude of those who would be affected by the measures in his charge. After he had carried through the Coal-whippers Bill on the 17th of August, he was delighted with a visit paid to him and to Mr. Shaw Lefevre by a small deputation who came to thank Government for what it had done. In writing about this Bill, he had referred to the class for whose benefit it was drawn up as being "kept systematically in a state of the grossest subjection and degradation by the publicans, by whom they were engaged for hire." The thanks of the delegates of coal-whippers, whose parting words were, "If the prayers of many poor children now starving in poverty, and who will be relieved of it by this Bill, can be of any use, you will have your reward,"—appealed direct to his heart, and went far to lighten the labours of the Session now falling upon him with a sudden stress. He was not without other rewards; for as the storm of indignation against Lord Ellenborough increased in volume, Lord Dalhousie's name was widely mentioned in connection with the office of Governor-General. During the recess, the Captain of Deal Castle gained practical experience of the advantages of railway communication, and constantly travelled up and down to town for the transaction of his public business. In December he and his wife moved into their new house in London, at 21 Hyde Park Gardens, and there at midnight on New Year's Eve he penned, as usual, his thanks to God for all he had given during the past

twelve months, and looked forward to the future "with brightening hopes."

1844. The nervous fainting fits to which Lady Dalhousie was subject continued to affect her health in 1844, and their little daughter, Susan, took the scarlet fever in February. The dread of infection proved a source of some inconvenience to Lord Dalhousie, who found himself not only unable to visit certain houses, but "afraid even to pass to windward of them." The Duke of Wellington, to whom he mentioned this difficulty, humorously told the story of a family to which infection had been carried by the neglect to wash the clothes of a doll belonging to a small patient. But His Grace added that he had no fears for himself, and Lord Dalhousie was therefore at liberty to continue those visits to the great man which he so thoroughly enjoyed. During one of them, the Duke gave his opinion of Lord Gough, whom he described as "no tactician," and expressed grave fears as to the havoc which sickness, due to the overflow of the Indus, was playing with the British army in Sind. When the crisis arose in the Punjab, the Governor-General had reason to call to mind the words then spoken.

In Parliament the Vice-President of the Board added fresh laurels to those he had already won. Upon railways, telegraphs, customs duties, and the duties upon foreign wool, he spoke frequently; but the two special occasions which brought him into the front rank of debaters were the discussion of the Import Duties on the 13th of June 1844, and the third reading of the Sugar Duties Bill on the 2nd of July. On the first of these, Lord Monteagle moved, in a long and powerful speech, the appointment of a Committee to consider the effect of the import duties upon foreign

trade, home industries, the revenue, and the general prosperity of the empire. The whole brunt of opposing this motion fell upon Lord Dalhousie, for not a member of the Government rose to support him. The abstention of the front bench from debate was due to the fact that the principles of commercial policy on which the Cabinet had agreed were most distasteful to the bulk of their own followers, while they fell short of what the advocates of free trade demanded. The Duke himself, in private conversation after the debate, admitted that had he spoken, he would have gone "on the other tack"; and Lord Clarendon, who followed Lord Dalhousie, complimented him on his speech, and declared that he was evidently a free trader. It was no light task for so young a man to steer clear of the rocks upon which his party was fated to founder, and to answer Lord Monteagle without losing votes. In moving, on the 2nd of July, the third reading of the Sugar Duties Bill, by which sugar imported from British possessions was to pay 24s. per cwt., with an addition of five per cent, while foreign sugar, not grown by slave labour, was to pay 34s. per cwt., with the same addition, Lord Dalhousie received the highest compliments from Lords Monteagle, Ashburton, and Brougham, but again not a Cabinet Minister opened his mouth; while Lord Ripon, a former Chancellor of the Exchequer, discreetly slipped away. The country, however, which read the debate, was not slow in rendering to the Vice-President the credit due to him for his conduct in the difficult position in which he was placed. Public opinion endorsed the remark of Lord Monteagle that "it was impossible to have made a more clear and satisfactory statement of a complicated question than that of the Noble Earl." The Bill had previously encountered opposition in the

Commons, and on the 14th of June the Government had sustained a defeat by twenty votes, when on the motion of Mr. Miles the duty was reduced to 20s. per cwt. Three days later, however, Sir Robert Peel announced his resolution to propose a duty on sugar, the produce of British colonial possessions, at 24s. per cwt., which involved adherence to his previous intentions, notwithstanding the decision arrived at on the 14th of the month, and of "abiding by the engagements we have made and the principles we profess." The principles professed had reference to the policy of penalising slave-grown sugar. His motion was then carried in Committee by a majority of twenty-two votes, but the proceedings showed plainly that the large majority which had been returned to support the Prime Minister could not be relied upon. The agricultural and old Tory party considered themselves betrayed, and the Young England party, supported by Disraeli, ranged itself on the side of the malcontents. The Prime Minister was personally unpopular, and Sir James Graham and Mr. Gladstone had also given offence to many of their leader's followers. It was therefore a matter for congratulation when Lord Dalhousie successfully piloted the Bill through its last stages.

These indications of a rising storm in the ranks of the Tory party, and the public confidence which Lord Dalhousie had inspired by his conduct both at the Board of Trade and in the House of Lords, lent weight to a revival of the rumour that he would be sent to India. The Court of Directors, acting upon their own rights, had suddenly recalled Lord Ellenborough, a measure which the Duke stigmatised as "a gross political outrage," and to which the Government replied by recommending the retiring Governor-General to the

Queen for promotion to an Earldom and to the dignity of the Grand Cross of the Bath. The name of Lord Dalhousie was suggested for the vacancy ; but he was considered too young for the post, and Sir Henry Hardinge was transferred from the chief military command to the highest civil office in India.

Lord Dalhousie found consolation for any disappointment he might have felt in redoubled attention to his official duties. On the 19th of August he writes :—

As soon as the Railway Bill had reached a certain point, Gladstone spoke to me respecting the system to be pursued in submitting all railway schemes to an inquiry by the Board of Trade previously to their being laid before a Committee of the Legislature. He stated that, with House of Commons negotiations and Cabinets, it was almost impossible for the President to undertake any further active functions, and the charge must fall upon the Vice-President. Besides this, owing to the large stake which his father and his family had in railway property through the shares they held, he felt himself almost virtually disqualified from acting as head of the Railway Board ; and thus a double necessity arose for proposing to me to take charge of the formation and direction of the new system. Of course I at once assented, and wrote to him that I was the servant of the public, and willing to labour in its service as long and as far as health would enable me to do so.

The new duties which he so readily accepted involved the reception of numerous deputations and close study of complicated and rival enterprises entailing huge outlay of capital, as well as decisions upon intricate and difficult questions, while the greatest care had to be taken to prevent any information as to the final verdict becoming known before it appeared in the *Gazette*. It was a period of gigantic speculation, stimulated by the easy state of the money market, and in Kent alone there were four sets of projectors anxious

to add their lines to that which was already in working order. By December, 248 Bills had been lodged at the Board of Trade for introduction in the next Session, and a thorough examination of their plans and estimates of traffic had to be instituted. No vacation or rest was possible to Lord Dalhousie. Between the 4th of December, 1843, and the 15th of December, 1844, he had only been once, for four days together, absent from London, and until the 1st of December had spent only two nights out of town. Even when in December he went for a few days to Deal, the Vice-President left his house at 5 A.M. for London, and returned late at night. Upon the top of all this work, there had fallen grave trouble and anxiety for his wife, whose health in her then delicate situation would affect the realisation of their most cherished hopes. The diary for the year closed with this remark: "I write in my bedroom, low, dispirited, and ill, just in the mood to think less of giving welcome to the young year, whose birth the bells are announcing, than of bidding farewell to the gloomy parting of 1844."

1845. The new year brought no relaxation in the stress of work, though reputation and honours came in rapid succession. It was indeed an *annus mirabilis*. Before it closed, Lord Dalhousie had twice been appointed President of the Board; in April he was given the Coloneley of the King's Own Light Infantry Regiment of Militia; in November the Corporation of the Trinity House elected him as an Elder Brother in the room of Earl Grey, deceased; in the next month he became Lord Clerk Register of Scotland; and, to crown all, at thirty-three years of age he took his seat in the Cabinet when Sir Robert Peel resumed office, on the failure of Lord John Russell to form a Cabinet. His prodigious powers

of work, his immense force of will, and his single-minded devotion to public duty, justified these successes.

The year, however, opened with a series of disappointments. Gladstone had, for some months past, seen that he was approaching a crisis in his career, and the attitude of his mind at this time is described in Lord Dalhousie's account of a conversation between them which took place on the 29th of January.

He felt the step, he said, to be inevitable, he had seen it approaching for a year, it was most painful to incur the responsibility of leaving the Government at such a time, and to quit men with whom he had been associated, but he considered that he would lose all character for ever and become utterly worthless as a public man, if he remained in the Cabinet actively promoting an additional grant to Maynooth, against which both in speeches and in printed works he had borne the most solemn testimony that man could give. He left me impressed with a high sense of the honour and strict uprightness of his conduct in this emergency.

But even upon Mr. Gladstone's resignation, Sir Robert Peel was not immediately in a position to give to Lord Dalhousie such recognition as he acknowledged to be due to so able and loyal a supporter. In a long interview he explained the necessity of strengthening his debating power in the House of Commons, and set forth his reasons for wishing to bring Mr. Sidney Herbert into the Cabinet. Admitting that Lord Dalhousie, by his successful administration and his services to the party, had earned a full title to be raised to that dignity, he regretted that for the present he could offer him nothing more than the post of President at the Board of Trade, with Sir George Clerk as his Vice-President. Lord Dalhousie accepted

the position without protest or even a moment's hesitation, assuring the Prime Minister that he had no thought but for the public good, and that he readily acquiesced in his decision. Gladstone's secession meant a serious addition to the labours of the new President. By the middle of May the railway department of the Board had pronounced its opinion upon schemes contemplating the construction of not less than 7000 miles of line, with an outlay of from 140 to 150 millions of capital. The many promoters who failed to secure the approval of the Board carried their disappointment and hostility into society and into Parliament. Lady Jersey canvassed for the broad gauge "because the London and Birmingham line came too near to Middleton Park"; and Lady Ailesbury "swept society from side to side" to catch recruits for the cause of the narrow gauge. One influential capitalist enlisted the support of his relative Lord Brougham in behalf of his project, with the result that several passages of arms between that peer and Lord Dalhousie ensued in the House of Lords. These scenes were so frequent, that on one occasion, when the latter appeared in the House, he heard his friends remark, "Here comes the badger." But it was in the House of Commons that Mr. Gladstone's help was most missed, and in a conflict between the Board's recommendation and that of the Parliamentary Committee in regard to the Oxford and Wolverhampton Railway, Sir Robert Peel, on the 20th of June, 1845, threw over Sir George Clerk and the Board of Trade in favour of the Committee, observing, "I shall exercise no influence to support the decision of the Board of Trade." Lord Dalhousie, who had no lack of courage, at once expressed to the Prime Minister his

sense of disappointment at the lack of support accorded by the Government to its own department; and, wishing to avoid any repetition of such an incident, he drew up a scheme for revising the work of the Railway Board, which would relieve it of the obligation to frame recommendations on the plans examined by it. This scheme was adopted by the Government; and in laying it on the table of the House of Lords, the President claimed credit for the past work of the Board, showing that in the vast majority of instances its reports had been confirmed by the examinations of the Committees.

A glance at the proceedings of Parliament indicates the wide range of study and preparation which the work of the Session entailed upon the President of the Board of Trade. Apart from the railway clauses consolidation, and railways under several other heads, other measures such as banking, bills of exchange, coal trade, poor law amendment, land clauses consolidation, and sugar duties, were either introduced or supported by the overworked peer. On one occasion he sat up till 6 A.M. writing a memorandum on the Duke of Sotomayer's claim under treaties with Spain to have Cuba sugar admitted on the footing of the most-favoured nation. But his influence in affairs of State was not restricted to the business of his own office. Before the autumn of 1845 it was obvious that the Government must either resign its trust and leave the way clear for the Whigs, or else deal itself with the question of the repeal of the Corn Laws. Peel's open mind had gradually been giving way to conviction, and Lord Dalhousie had already noticed the reluctance of ministers to take part in debates that might compel them to declare publicly the articles of their political faith on the subject of free trade. It was well known

that Sir Robert himself felt unequal to the task and had transferred to Sidney Herbert the duty of replying to Cobden's "dairy-farming" speech, delivered in the House of Commons on the 13th of March, 1845. The Anti-Corn Law League had carried conviction to other minds than those of the hungry masses, and when the disease of the potato in Ireland and the failure of crops in England spread the flood of distress and agitation over the land, the hard logic of facts crumpled up the flimsy divisions of party and the weak defences of political consistency. In this state of public anxiety, the Ministry had to make up its mind what course to pursue, and Lord Dalhousie was consulted. What he thought and what he said are recorded in his diary. "I have always thought, and think still, that on their present footing the Corn Laws cannot stand; and I only hope that it may be found practicable to make the change gradually."

But when Peel consulted his colleagues he found that some doubted the necessity for any extreme measures, and hardly two agreed as to the nature of the remedies or palliatives they would adopt. At last a definite proposal was submitted to the Cabinet, involving the suspension by Order in Council of import duties on grain, the summoning of Parliament to sanction this order, and an undertaking by the Government to legislate after the recess. Lord Dalhousie's comments upon this suggestion were characteristic of the man. It seemed to him more straightforward to leave the responsibility for legislation to the opposition, and not to open the ports before the law opened them by its own operation. His counsels are thus recorded in his own words:—

If you should come to the conclusion that the law cannot be maintained, and that justice to the community requires its abrogation, say so to the Queen. The political party of which you are the leaders, selected you as their champions, and obtained for you official powers in the full confidence that you would maintain these protective laws. You are therefore bound in honour not to use the power so conferred upon you, for the purpose of destroying those laws. You drove your opponents from office because they wished to alter those laws. As you now think they ought to be altered, you are bound in honour to relinquish to them the power of which you deprived them, in order that they may alter them as they proposed. That is my opinion, and so I would act.

It might have been better for the party, although not for the country, had this advice been followed. In the Cabinet only three of the Prime Minister's colleagues, Lord Aberdeen, Graham, and Sidney Herbert, were of one mind with Sir Robert Peel. Nothing therefore was done except to place a large order for food-stuffs in the markets of the United States as a temporary expedient. Meanwhile Lord John Russell seized the opportunity to declare himself in favour of total repeal, and in his letter, dated the 22nd of November, to his constituents at Edinburgh, he called upon the nation to unite with one heart and voice, and to give to the Government "the excuse they seek. . . . Let the removal of restrictions on the admission of the main articles of food and clothing, used by the masses of the people, be required in plain terms, as useful to all great interests and indispensable to the progress of the nation." The earnest and prompt response of the nation to this appeal left Peel no alternative but to attempt to convince his colleagues of the necessity for a gradual repeal of protective duties. In this he failed, and therefore resolved to resign.

On the 11th of December Lord John Russell received Her Majesty's commands to form an administration, and he commenced his task with an assurance of support from the outgoing Prime Minister. But on the 20th of the same month he presented his humble duty to the Queen, and informed Her Majesty that "in one instance" he had failed to secure the co-operation of his own party, and could only regard "the task as hopeless." Lord Howick entertained an insuperable objection to Palmerston's holding the seals of the Foreign Office, and Palmerston held that this objection rendered it "still more impossible than it was before for me to take any other office." There was nothing for it except the return of Peel and his colleagues to office, and Lord John Russell was ready to assure his opponent that he in his turn would give him reasonable support in effecting a peaceable settlement "of a question which," as Russell had informed Her Majesty, "if not so settled, may in an adverse state of affairs cause a fearful convulsion." Once more the opinion of Lord Dalhousie was invited upon the new situation created by these events. He first inquired whether the extreme agricultural party had been offered the opportunity of forming a government if they could. When he was told that the Duke of Wellington, Lord Stanley, Mr. Goulburn, and the Duke of Buccleuch had declared that it would be "a farce to attempt it," he submitted to the chief of his party the view that he was "entirely free to reassume the Government on such principles as he might then profess, and to propose to Parliament such measures as he and his colleagues might decide to be necessary." On this understanding he himself returned to the post he had so lately vacated, and on the 23rd of December, in consequence

of the resignation of Lord Stanley, attended Court and was promoted to a seat in the Cabinet. Sir Robert Peel, in expressing his own gratification at the bestowal of this dignity, and reminding him of the handsome way in which he had forgone at the opening of the year a reward he had even then so fully earned, added that the Queen had graciously intimated her cordial satisfaction at having Lord Dalhousie as one of her confidential advisers. If there was anything to mar the pleasure of his return to the Board of Trade, it was the recollection that on the 30th of November, although it was Sunday, he had been obliged to keep open the doors of his office for the reception of railway plans and schemes. When midnight struck, exactly 800 plans had been brought in. "What is to be done with them?" was the question plaintively put to himself as he entered once more on the duties of his office.

The next year was one of stress and storm in which 1846. many political reputations foundered, but Lord Dalhousie saw himself courted by both parties. He remained faithful to the best section of his own party, and yet before the year closed he had twice refused office from the Whigs. In January he took the usual oaths of office as Lord Clerk Register before the Judges of the Court of Session in Edinburgh, and after attending the Register House, returned to London. Although the Duke of Wellington eulogised in the House of Lords Peel's conduct in reassuming the responsibilities of Prime Minister in order that the Queen's Government might be carried on, the growing signs of a split in the party did not escape Lord Dalhousie. The utmost which he allowed himself to hope was that Sir Robert would carry his proposals for free trade in corn and for the gradual repeal of the Corn Laws; but he fully expected that if

that measure did pass, the Government would not survive its own success. It pained Lord Dalhousie to see how the Duke's sympathies with the Ministry were cooling, and how bitterly the protectionists in the Tory party were opposing the inevitable. His own contribution to the passage of the Act for repealing the Corn Laws was a speech of nearly three hours' duration, delivered on the 28th of May to dissatisfied but attentive hearers by a speaker who describes himself as "exhausted in body and almost worn out in mind." Despite the interruptions of the Duke of Richmond, who called Lord Dalhousie "once a protectionist, not so now," it was a complete success, and Lord George Bentinck described it as "equal to Lord Stanley's both in power and eloquence."

The work of his own department was overwhelming without the addition of other duties, however imperative. One more than usually onerous task was the conduct of a Bill to enable Railway Companies to wind up their affairs, coupled with a sessional order regulating the course of the House of Lords in the treatment of railway Bills. A committee of members of the Government had been appointed, at the close of the previous year, to consider the effect of so enormous a mass of capital being locked up in railway enterprise, and they had advocated measures for an abatement of the evil by undertaking a selection of lines. The House of Commons resolved, however, that there should be no restriction or selection. In this difficulty, Lord Dalhousie, after much opposition from his colleagues, but with the strong support of Gladstone, compromised matters by accepting the offer of Sir Robert Peel to propose certain resolutions providing that no Bill should be read a third time until a meeting had been held representing one-

third of the whole stock of the Company, and until three-fifths of such representatives had resolved to proceed with their Bill. These resolutions were ordered to be printed by the House of Lords on the 27th of April, 1846, and were made sessional orders. The evil which the President had long apprehended from the excessive inrush of all loanable capital into railway speculations was now evident to all. By the Bills already before Parliament the amount of capital pledged to railway enterprise exceeded 304 millions sterling. The cost of articles used in construction had moreover increased enormously since the estimates were framed, and the difference between the market prices of shares and those ruling when the railways were first projected was considerable. Numbers of investors wished to release themselves from their improvident engagements, and the proposals just mentioned were devised to give them a chance of relief. Had he been allowed a free hand, Lord Dalhousie would from the first have secured for the public an effective control by the State over railway extension, and would have treated the new system of communication as a national concern. Failing the adoption of that strong course, he would have restricted legislative sanction to schemes for which a clear public advantage, either commercial or strategic, could be proved. But when the Government shrank from the odium of selection and restriction, he accepted the only check possible for arresting, if there was yet time, the widespread ruin which he foresaw as a consequence of the mania of speculation. His private comment upon the result of his endeavours was: "This measure will do good as far as it goes, but I would gladly have seen it go a good deal further." A mere glance at the Acts of Parliament passed in the ninth and tenth years of the

reign of Queen Victoria is sufficient to mark the excessive labours of this period of office ; and the following extract shows that the pressure continued to the very end. On the 28th of June Lord Dalhousie writes :—

On Monday and Tuesday we had the Customs Bill, and a motion of Lord Ashburton's, the whole of which rested on me alone. We had long debates. I was well baited and badgered and was on my legs perpetually. After several very narrow divisions, and a great deal of acrimonious talk on the part of the protectionists, we got the matter through.

When this sentence was written in his diary, the Cabinet had already on the 26th of June decided to resign. The events which led to the final overthrow of Peel's Government are easily explained. Free trade was only one difficulty removed from the path of the ministry of which Lord Dalhousie was a member, and in that conflict with his party Sir Robert had been able to count upon the support of the statesman who had failed to construct a Whig Ministry. But it was otherwise with the next controversy, the Irish question. If the obstructive tactics of the protectionists delayed the passing of the Corn Law, the Irish Bill had still less chance of a smooth passage. After some change of purpose, Lord John opposed the measure, receiving the support of the protectionists, and thus it came to pass that within a few hours of the return of the Corn Bill from the House of Lords, Peel was defeated by a majority of 73 on the sixth night of the debate on the Protection of Life (Ireland) Bill. He at once tendered his resignation on the 27th of June, 1846, and tongues were busy discussing the prospects of a Coalition Ministry, parties being divided into three groups, not one of which could rely upon the assistance of another. Lord

Dalhousie's views were thus expressed to a political opponent :—

There is nothing more odious in the eyes of Englishmen than a coalition of parties, and nothing weaker than a Coalition Government. It is always disliked and suspected. I believe we shall come to that, but it must not be until the different parties have shown themselves unable to conduct the Government separately. There will be a fusion of parties, but in order to effect it, the parties must first pass through the furnace. We have done so ; you must do it next.

Peel himself had no desire to make any such attempt. The "reproaches and execrations of his party" had rendered the breach irreparable, and when in a speech honourable in its manly acknowledgment of his change of views he eulogised the "unadorned eloquence of Richard Cobden, the apostle of free trade," who had converted him, a section of his party was furious with him. Many of them had been loyal to him at the sacrifice of friendships, and in some cases almost of cherished convictions, and they could not forgive the complete omission of any reference to their services. Lord Dalhousie was somewhat inclined to sympathise with them, and he expressed deep regret when Peel followed up what he had said in public, by declaring to his friends that he would not lead the party if it ever returned to office.

On the 29th of June Peel announced in Parliament his resignation, and the Queen gave her commands to Lord John Russell. The latter knew well the bitterness of the protectionists, but he also recognised that there was no lasting agreement between him and them on questions affecting Ireland, Catholics, taxation, or domestic policy. Accordingly he sought for allies in other camps. On the 1st of July he addressed Lord

Dalhousie, Lord Lincoln, and Sidney Herbert, telling them that he had received the Queen's permission to offer them seats in the new Cabinet, and adding that if they assented he would enter into a fuller explanation of his policy. Lord Dalhousie's reasons for declining this flattering offer are thus recorded in his letter, dated the 2nd of July, 1846, to Lord John Russell:—

My Lord—I had the honour late last night of receiving your Lordship's letter of yesterday's date, in which you inform me that you have undertaken the task of forming an administration, and that you have received the Queen's permission to propose to me to join the new Cabinet.

I beg to assure you that I am very sensible of the honour which is conferred upon me by a proposal that I should continue to occupy the position of one of Her Majesty's confidential servants. Looking to the present state of political parties in the country, and believing it to be my duty never to withhold my humble services from the Crown when they can be honestly and usefully given, I should be prepared now to make many sacrifices, to submit to misconstruction of my motives, and to incur the obloquy which would be certain to follow a coalition with public men who have until now been my political antagonists, if I believed that my doing so would assist in any degree the formation of a strong Government for the Sovereign I have served, and above all if it did not involve essential departure from those political principles which I have honestly entertained and still continue to maintain.

Although there is little, if any, difference between us in our views with respect to the commercial policy of the country, yet on many questions of general policy I am conscious that there is a wide difference of opinion between myself and the party generally with which you have acted in political connection. The difference of opinion has been manifested in measures of importance until the very last.

I therefore feel that I could not join the administration which is now to be formed without such an abandonment of political opinion as must involve the loss of public character. Under these circumstances, I feel it to be my duty to decline the honour of a

seat in the Cabinet which by Her Majesty's permission you have offered to me. Your Lordship, however, may rest assured that I shall never offer to your administration, or to any other which may be formed for the Queen's service, a factious or interested opposition.

If I should hereafter oppose any of the measures you may introduce, it will be solely because I disapprove of the measures themselves, and not for the purpose of striking a blow at the Government which proposes them.—I have the honour, etc.

On the same day Lord Dalhousie wrote to the Duke of Wellington to report his proceedings, and for some days afterwards he was plied with questions from all quarters, which were suggested by an article in the *Times* of the 3rd of July. He was asked whether it was true that his refusal was based on temporary reasons only, whether Sir Robert Peel knew of the offer, and so forth. To these inquiries his letter just quoted is the best answer; but it may be added that he informed his late colleagues that being unable to combine with the protectionists, he must act for himself. Accordingly he took his seat on the opposition benches, but resolved to give "fair play to the Government."

A second offer came to him on the 17th of August, 1846, being conveyed in these terms by Lord John Russell :—

We are about to establish a Railway Board, consisting of one Chief, the Vice-President of the Board of Trade, two paid permanent members, and one other unpaid member. The salary of the Chief to be £2000 a year, and of the other two £1200. It seems to me that you might consider this an office sufficiently separated from the Executive Government to allow of your acceptance of it. Your occupations at the Board of Trade point you as one of the fittest persons for such a post; your reputation as a man of business would give it weight and authority. A political position like that of the Duke of Wellington, not bound to any support of ministerial measures, but at the same time unconnected

with any party in opposition to the Queen's Ministers would, I hope, not be repugnant to your feelings, nor injurious to your character.

I should wish to have an answer as soon as possible, as the matter rather presses.—I remain, etc.

Lord Dalhousie had left London for his seat in Scotland, and the letter did not reach him until a second communication arrived from the Prime Minister. On the 24th of August he replied declining

to accept the Presidency of the Railway Board under the condition you have annexed to your offer, namely, that while holding that office I should be “not bound to any support of ministerial measures, but at the same time unconnected with any party in opposition to the Queen's Ministers.”

I am very willing to serve the Crown, if it is thought that I can serve it usefully, and if I can do so without sacrificing the independence of my own opinions. But it is impossible for me to accept any office, or to undertake any charge from an administration to which I do not give political support, unless there is reserved to me at the same time entire freedom of political action, unless I am left completely free to act or vote in Parliament as I may think it my duty to do.

Your Lordship's proposal does not leave to me that independence, and I beg, therefore, respectfully to decline your offer.

Lord John replied on the 28th of August expressing much concern to find that his offer was declined, and at the same time informing Lord Dalhousie that Mr. Strutt would assume direction of the new Board.

The loss of the salary attached to the post was a matter of some consideration, but his own consistency and independence were objects of greater concern to a rising statesman. Upon these qualities he rested his established title to public confidence, and when Sir George Arthur was about to relinquish the office of Governor of Bombay, the *Times* singled out the late President of the Board of Trade as his proper

successor. The *Morning Post* of the 26th of October added the intimation that his appointment would carry the reversion of the Governor-Generalship, thus serving "to draw the best men out of Peel's camp." Sir George Clerk was, however, sent to Bombay; and on the eve of the New Year Lord Dalhousie met his former colleagues and decided upon the course he should steer while still in the midst of the political world, though no longer of it.

"I was very ready," he says, "nay, most desirous, of acting with those with whom we had formerly acted, provided that this union did not imply either unmeasured and indiscriminate opposition to the present Government, or permanent separation from that portion of the Conservative party who had advocated strongly protective policy. I was resolved to give fair play to the Queen's present Government, and I was earnestly anxious for re-union with all former friends, if such an event could be brought about, without abandoning those principles of commercial policy which I had supported and to which I still firmly adhered. If my joining in any movement with our late supporters left me free in these two particulars, I was ready to act with them; otherwise not."

The exacting duties of official life had not been suffered to interrupt Lord Dalhousie's intercourse with the Duke of Wellington. He had in fact missed no opportunity of cultivating constant and close relations with his patron, and he treasured up—as though with prophetic foresight of their future use—his unrivalled experiences of India. In particular, he followed with the Duke the course of the First Sikh War, and took notice of his favourable opinion of Sir Harry Smith's action at Aliwal, and his criticisms of others not "masters of their game." Tracing the position of the river Satlaj and the Sikh entrenchments at Sobraon, the Duke observed—

You see where they put their (the British) batteries here. Well now, I should have placed them here (indicating a spot close to the river); I would have constructed a strong epaulement to protect them from the Sikh fire on the right bank of the Satlaj, and then with the fire of my battery on that little island I would have swept the whole of the entrenchment. The fire of that battery would have gone right in among them, so that, by Heavens, I would not have left a cat there with room to stand. They must have made their battery in a night, of course. The ground is all sand, and every man should have carried a sand-bag in his pocket, filled it, and in a very short time an epaulement would have been made. Then we should not have had one-third of the loss we have sustained. As to the exhaustion of their ammunition, it was want of management. I served a good deal in those countries, and I never moved at all but that I had, this way, and that way, and all ways, large magazines of ammunition. I always had as much ball cartridge and gun ammunition as we could possibly require in magazines behind me; and if I wanted it or retired, I had it ready for me. Ah, the truth is they are not masters of their game.

When this conversation was committed to paper, Lord Dalhousie had no possible reason for supposing that the day would come when he himself would have to judge of Lord Gough's military capacity. His own experience led him to form the same opinion as that expressed to him by the great master of the art, and his strong courage induced him to act according to his convictions.

1847. With the arrival of the New Year, it becomes unnecessary to follow step by step Lord Dalhousie's share in the proceedings in the House of Lords. Before Parliament was dissolved, his thoughts were turned to the East, and the important measures under discussion at that time relating to Ireland, the Ten Hours' Bill, and Poor Laws did not draw him into active debate. Moreover, after the severe strain of official life, he

needed rest and change of scene. Accordingly his attendance in Parliament was irregular and infrequent. At a division on the 26th of April on the Army Service Bill he was present and voted with the Government, but he was not destined to witness the reassembling of the new Parliament in the middle of November, or to hear his opponents ask for a Coercion Bill for Ireland hardly differing in principle from that which had ended in his own discomfiture.

When in 1846 Lord Hardinge, from a high sense of duty, yielded to the request of Lord John Russell that he would continue in office and consolidate the peace which his victories had secured, he expressed the hope that in the following year his claim to repose might be favourably considered. That year had now come, and with it Lord Hardinge's release from his burdensome duties. On the 19th of July, 1847, Sir John Hobhouse wrote to Lord Dalhousie to intimate that he had reason to believe that the Court of Directors would be happy to appoint him as Hardinge's successor, and that he had "the authority of Lord John Russell for saying that Her Majesty would be graciously pleased to sanction the nomination." On the 23rd of July Lord Dalhousie replied by referring to a conversation he had had with Sir John on the previous day, and he proceeded to say :—

And as you were good enough at our recent interview fully and unreservedly to assure me that my acceptance of the office would be clearly understood not to imply any abandonment of that party in the State with which I have acted, or any adherence, present or prospective, to that of which Her Majesty's Ministers are the leaders ; I feel that it will be my duty at once to accept the office of Governor-General, if the choice of the East India Company should fall upon me, and their choice should be confirmed by the Queen.

It must be unnecessary for me to say how conscious I am of the very high honour proposed for me, and how grateful both to the Company and to Her Majesty's servants for the confidence they repose in me.

His warrant of appointment was signed by Her Majesty on the 10th of August, 1847, but before that act was performed Lord John Russell addressed the Governor-General elect, on the 26th of July, in these terms :—

I have just received a letter from Prince Albert in which he says: "The Queen is very much pleased with Lord Dalhousie's acceptance of the Governor-Generalship of India." I can assure you that, after my Sovereign, no one is better pleased than myself. I am confident that the administration of the affairs of India will redound to your credit, and be advantageous to that wonderful empire. I shall be here till near five to-day, but if you can come to see me at Pembroke Lodge in Richmond Park at 1 p.m. to-morrow, I should be glad to have some quiet conversation with you.

Having suitably acknowledged this communication, Lord Dalhousie made haste to convey the news to his old tutor, and to his first official patron, Sir Robert Peel, explaining to the latter that the Government "left me entire independence of political action, and gave me full assurance that my acceptance of the office would be clearly understood not to imply any separation from the party with which I have acted, or any adherence, present or prospective, to that of which they are the leaders." Mr. Temple characteristically replied on the 28th of July :—

Your appointment as Governor-General of India is indeed a noble one, and is a high testimonial to the industry, zeal, intelligence, and efficiency of your past labours in your country's service. I sincerely pray that a gracious God may bless and prosper you in your new undertaking. To rule over a hundred

million of people must be a most arduous duty, but with a single eye to God's glory, the promotion of the Redeemer's kingdom, and the real good of your country, you may plead and confidently expect the fulfilment of the divine promise—"I will never leave thee nor forsake thee,"—"As thy days, so shall thy strength be."

Sir Robert Peel replied on the 31st of July expressing his warm satisfaction at the appointment. "I am confident," he added, "that they could not have made from the whole of the Queen's subjects a better selection. . . . You will carry with you my cordial good wishes for the complete success of your administration of Indian affairs, and for everything that can contribute to your personal welfare and reputation." Congratulations poured in from all quarters, including even those of his party from whom differences of opinion on the Corn Laws and "a mutual reserve" had severed him. But space can be found for only one extract taken from a letter, dated the 11th of August, 1847, addressed to him by Mr. Gladstone:—

I have been silent on the subject of your appointment, *i.e.* silent to yourself, but I hope you will believe I have regarded it alike with the liveliest interest and the most cordial satisfaction. It is honourable to you in a very high degree, for as one of the offices which have been usually held by much older men, it could not have been conferred on any one of your standing without extraordinary merit and reputation. It is honourable to the Government to have made their selection in the person of an opponent, and of one who, so far as I know, has never shown an inclination to court them; and it promises excellently well for the immense interests which are to be entrusted to you. It may almost, I think, be said that there is but one thing that can be done here for India, namely to send *just* and able men to govern it. It is well enough for men here to lament injustice when it has been done there, but generally, as it has seemed to me, they can do more; it is irremediable, and only teaches the lesson of prevention for the future. I trust most earnestly that your

health and Lady Dalhousie's may in no respect suffer from the climate.

These letters show that between Lord Dalhousie and his friends there was no room for doubt as to the terms upon which he had accepted office from the Court and the Queen's Government. But he desired also to take the public into his confidence. Accordingly he chose the occasion of a meeting of his friends of all parties assembled at Edinburgh on the 14th of September, under the presidency of the Duke of Buccleuch, to revert to this subject, and to declare publicly the principle which he had laid down for his own conduct in the administration of the high trust about to be committed to him. These were the words he used :—

If the offer of the assent of the Crown to the appointment made by the Court of Directors had been accompanied by the condition that I should give political support, or even observe political neutrality, I should have again thought it my duty to decline it. I would not have consented to sacrifice any of the political principles I believe now to be sound and true, even though it were to place in my hands the administration of an empire. But no such conditions were annexed. The assurance was given me that the acceptance of this appointment would leave me in entire and unquestioned possession of my own personal independence with reference to party politics, and would establish no party claims upon me; and I at once felt bound, as a servant of the Crown, to serve the Court of Directors to the utmost of my ability.

As regards his future line of conduct, the Governor-General elect said: "From the moment I assume the Government of India, politics is a question unknown to me. Party politics above all have no existence in my mind."

The writer of an article in the *Times*, issued on

the 6th of November, was not content to leave the Governor-General elect to follow his own judgment. He indicated pretty clearly the way Lord Dalhousie was intended to go, and, as will hereafter be shown, the way that he did not go. A significant hint was thrown out that the time had at length come to terminate native rule in Hyderabad and in Oudh. The *Times* dwelt on the "moral and political right of myriads to turn to him for succour, protection, and redress." "His easy task is to level those masses of misgovernment which obstruct the free circulation of prosperity and happiness throughout the peninsula, and to advance those internal improvements by which such blessings are so materially promoted." He was reminded that the Nizam of Hyderabad was "morally accountable to us," and that "we have no more right to disregard the people of Oudh than to ignore the population of India." We may pass from this advice in the press to the immediate occasion which prompted it.

On the 4th of November the Chairman and Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company gave Lord Dalhousie a farewell dinner at the London Tavern, and among the guests was the Prime Minister, Lord John Russell. Mr. Tucker, the Chairman, stated that the appointment had originated in a spontaneous movement of the public authorities, wholly uninfluenced by party considerations. The existing administration had concurred in the appointment from a conviction that no better selection could be made. Lord John Russell referred to the distinguished qualities of Lord Dalhousie, the ability he had shown on the great fields of public discussion, the talents that had marked his administration of an important department of the State, and the public confidence he had inspired—

qualities which pointed him out as a man fit to maintain and to elevate the Government of India. Lord Dalhousie's own speech on this occasion expressed an earnest and hearty hope that the peace which at present prevailed might be enduring and profound, but he added—

If it should be otherwise, I trust the Government of India will never be found unprepared to strike, and to strike hard, whenever the real interest or the true honour of the nation shall require it. But for myself, I shall regard it as a fortunate and enviable lot indeed, if free from foreign aggression and internal turmoil, my chief duties, during the time that I may serve you, shall consist in suggesting and carrying out those great measures of internal improvement which you are so desirous of promoting.

It is necessary to recall attention to the pressure brought to bear upon Lord Dalhousie before he quitted England, in order to induce him to deal severely with the Nizam. Nothing in the proceedings at the London Tavern suggested any reference to Hyderabad or other Native States. Yet he had hardly settled himself in Calcutta, when he received a despatch from the Court which called forth the nearest approach that he ever made to a threat of resignation. It is true that he diplomatically explained his instructions as not involving more than friendly interference; but the echo of the article in the *Times* still rang in his ears, and he lost no time in writing to Sir John Hobhouse: "If the policy declared had been to put the treaty in the fire and walk over him—a policy which has abundance of advocates both in this country and at home, I am afraid I must have asked you to find some other hand to guide it."¹

¹ Letter to the President of the Board, March 8, 1848. See also vol. ii. chap. iv. p. 126.

On the 11th of November Lord Dalhousie and his wife embarked for Alexandria on Her Majesty's frigate *Sidon*; by the end of December the East India Company's ship *Moozuffer* had carried them safely through the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean to Point de Galle; and on the 5th of January, 1848, they arrived at Madras, where they remained for three days as Lord Tweeddale's guests, meeting at Government House several old Scottish friends, including Robert Hamilton of Saltoun, Alexander Maclean of Ardgour, and "my nice merry little old friend Maria Blair, now Mrs. Walter Elliot." During the stay there the Governor-General elect received a visit from the Nawab of the Carnatic, about whose titular honours more will be said hereafter, and resuming his voyage to Calcutta, arrived late on the evening of the 12th of January at Fort Gloucester. Here at the supreme moment to which during a long voyage the Earl of Dalhousie had looked forward with a beating heart, and which an empire lavish in pomp and pageantry was awaiting with Oriental patience, occurred a series of contretemps which might have furnished political prophets with heart-searching questions and misgivings.

The *Moozuffer* had travelled so fast with the tide ^{1848.} that the stately barge astern of her, in which Lord Dalhousie was to land, was nearly swamped. The shades of evening were fast gathering, and India's new ruler landed at Chandpal Ghat on the 12th of January, 1848, in a common *bauleah* or country boat. Before he left the *Moozuffer*, all sense of dignity had given way to fidget. The outgoing Governor-General's staff were on board in full panoply of uniform. But "there was great hurry," writes Lord Dalhousie, "the pilot was fidgety at the thought of steering through the

shipping without good light. The Military Secretary was fidgety pressing him on because all the troops were out, and I was expected. I had to go down to look for my Commission, which after all I found we did not want, and in the meanwhile we were drawing nigh to Calcutta." Through the streets lined with troops and thronged with natives dressed in bright colours, the Earl drove to the north front of Government House, and, while making his way up the steps, heard a perplexed voice ask, "Where is he?" to which, recognising Lord Hardinge's tones, Lord Dalhousie replied, as if answering to a "call-over," "Here I am," and so they met. Almost immediately afterwards Lord Hardinge led his successor to the Council Room, and, making him a bow at the door, left him. The secretary read his Commission to the members of Council; Lord Dalhousie took the oaths, signed his name, and came out from the room Governor-General of India. Simple as the ceremony of installation of a ruler of India was, and still is, it is always an impressive scene, and no one who has ever witnessed it can fail to read in the look of the incoming Governor-General a sense of deep responsibility, as clearly marked as the expression of relief which lights up the face of his predecessor as he parts from his successor at the door of the Council Chamber.

The scenes which followed were tedious, but not without a humour of their own.

"On the same night," writes Lord Dalhousie, "there was a dinner; on the next a greater; and on the third Lord Hardinge gave a ball to Lady Dalhousie. Then my entertainments began. For the first three days the outgoing Governor-General feasts the incoming man; for the next three days, or as long as he stays, the Governor-General in the present tense is host to him who has reached the præter pluperfect. So on the next day I gave the same great dinner to Lord Hardinge that he had given to me:

all the same people, whisker for whisker among the gentlemen, pin for pin among the ladies. Then came Sunday, and we sat together in the Cathedral under the same canopy. Never was such a sight seen since the sweet-smelling days of the dynasty of Brentford !”

Finally the ceremonies of arrival, with the exception of the *bauleah* and the fidgets, were repeated on the departure of Lord Hardinge, the two Governor-Generals shaking hands at the ghat, “he leaving me, the Substance, envying much the departing Shadow.”

CHAPTER IV

THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL

Lord Dalhousie's programme—Constitution of the Home Government of India—The Courts of Proprietors and of Directors—The Board of Control—The Secret Committee—Three checks against abuse of power—The Government of India—The local governments—The Commander-in-Chief—The members of Council—Sketch of Lord Dalhousie by Sir R. Temple—Four faults imputed to him by his critics: Interference with others; Over-sensitiveness; Want of imagination; Passion for public approval—Religious side of his character—His power of judging character—Personal as well as moral courage—His administration of the Bengal presidency—Military measures in Orissa, but elsewhere tranquillity—Low state of the finances—Excessive reduction of the army by Lord Hardinge—Law providing for the annexation of Mandavi—General legislation during the year 1848—Lord Dalhousie's state of health—He leaves Calcutta on 11th of October for the Punjab—Journey by steamer up the Ganges—Progress from Allahabad by dak—Reaches Punjab in December and proceeds to Makhu—Desolate state of the country—The Green Ribbon of the Thistle conferred upon him.

1848. ON the way out to India Lord Dalhousie had spent some of his time in sketching a plan according to which he would have devoted himself to a thorough study of his duties in every field of action before attempting to form a policy or committing himself to any serious decision. He had been assured that perfect tranquillity prevailed, and he believed that his mission lay in promoting the moral and material progress of India, and

in consolidating the provinces already acquired, rather than in adding to their extent by fresh conquests. He knew that the sword had been sheathed by his predecessor, and the army deliberately reduced, in view of the peaceful state of affairs on the frontier. The reports which reached him on his arrival confirmed the opinions which prevailed at the India House. "Everything is quiet," he wrote home, "and the only discontent I have heard of in the Punjab is that of the little Maharaja, who complains that they have given him too many lessons." But these comfortable illusions were soon scattered to the winds. On the 19th of April, 1848, as we shall see in another chapter, the blood of British officers was treacherously shed at Multan, and in a few months the whole Sikh nation had thrown down its challenge. The call to arms rang from one end to the other of the Company's possessions, the sepoy-army was increased, and every available body of drilled troops was despatched to the north-west frontier. The crisis was indeed a grave one. The very safety of British dominion trembled in the balance, and by a strange irony of fate Lord Dalhousie was called upon to redeem the pledge which he had, perhaps lightly, given at the dinner-table on the 4th of November, 1847, "to strike, and to strike hard, whenever the true honour of the nation shall require it." But while organising victory, he did not forget his programme, or stint time and labour in studying the machinery of the civil administration. He looked forward with confidence to the time when he should be able to undertake the task of reorganising the several departments of State and prosecuting public works. He felt that the pause before it was possible to strike with his military arm would enable him to learn his work, and so carry out his

plans hereafter. Accordingly until he left Calcutta in October to join the army in the Punjab, he devoted himself with untiring energy and perfect calmness to the legislative and administrative duties of his high office. The story of the Punjab rebellion and of its suppression will be reserved for future chapters, and here it will be convenient to review the main features of the civil administration in 1848, after a brief explanation of the functions of the several authorities both in London and in India and of their relations with each other.

Before Lord Dalhousie left India Parliament altered the constitution of the Company, enacting what is generally called the Charter Act of 1853. When that statute and the share taken by the Governor-General in shaping it are described,¹ the opportunity will be taken to trace in fuller detail the history of the Company. For the present a bare outline of the various grades of authority, the Proprietors, the Directors, the Board of Control, the Governors of presidencies, and the Governor-General and his Councillors, will enable the reader to follow the course of events between 1848 and 1853. During that period the Charter Act of 1833 was running out its term of twenty years. India was under the dual government, as it was called, a Company's rule controlled by H.M.'s Government. The force of the violent struggle between the Government and the Company, provoked by Pitt's Act of 1784, was well nigh spent. By 1848 the Proprietors and Directors of the Honourable East India Company, who held the territorial possessions of India, "in trust for His Majesty, his heirs and successors, for the service of the Government of India," preferred grumbling to expensive agita-

¹ See vol. ii. chap. vii. p. 227.

tion. They meekly accepted the control of "the Commissioners for the affairs of India," and sent the despatches which they were directed to sign. The commercial functions of the Company were suspended, and their political powers were regulated. The Proprietors entitled to vote numbered some 1800 persons, possessed of stock of the value of at least £1000 apiece. Their whole business was summed up by Lord Derby in these terms—"they receive the dividends upon their stock, and elect the members of the Court of Directors." They were the body corporate, but not the head, of the Company, and the occasion on which they shone forth in all their glory was when they gave a dinner to a Governor-General or to some other distinguished "servant of the Company."

The Court of Directors numbered twenty-four, although it may be observed that Lord Derby, in 1852, stated in the House of Lords that their number was thirty, "of whom one-fourth go out of office every year, but are generally re-elected and practically sit for life." To their authority over the Government of India there was no limit, with the all-important exception that, in all matters other than patronage, the Board of Control might compel them to act as it pleased. Thus the Directors might even recall the Governor-General as well as every other servant down to the lowest clerk, without any communication with the Board, provided that Parliament did not interfere. Again they prepared and signed all despatches and orders addressed to the Governments of India, except those marked "secret," subscribing themselves as "your affectionate friends." Lord Dalhousie, however, was not the only Governor-General who complained of the peremptory tone which his "friends" too frequently assumed.

They seem indeed to have found pleasure in administering the sharpest rebukes to their Governors and Governor-Generals. In 1848 General Lushington was the Chairman of the Company, but the most influential of the Directors, and the most regular correspondent from home, was James Weir Hogg, who occupied the posts of Chairman or Deputy Chairman during the eventful years 1850-1852. The Governor-General wrote privately to "the Court," that is, to the Chairman for the time being, often repeating to him what he said to the President of the Board by the same mail. This double labour was no doubt a concession to the dignity of the Court, and to the principle of "the dual government."

The "Commissioners for the affairs of India," known better as the "Board of Control," meant in 1848 nothing more than the President, who was a member of the Cabinet. Relying upon the support of his colleagues, this functionary ruled India, although he had no power to sign a single official despatch. At the same time every mail carried "private" letters between Lord Dalhousie and the five successive Presidents under whom he served. These letters are referred to as letters from or to the Board. The system by which the President of the Board controlled the Indian Governments from his office in Cannon Row through the Court of Directors in Leadenhall Street, affords an interesting study in the methods of compromise. The law gave to the Commissioners for the affairs of India authority to control, direct, and superintend all acts, operations, and concerns which in anywise related to the civil or military government or revenues of India. And yet there was no direct official correspondence between these Commissioners and the Governments in India. In order, then, to ensure to the Board full knowledge of what was

going on, the Directors were bound by law to send to that body copies of all their proceedings, and of all the letters which they received. The Directors were similarly required to obey the orders and instructions of the Board touching the civil or military government or the revenues of India. Thus the Court of Directors was tied hand and foot by the Board, which signified the President, while he in turn signified the Government or Crown.

But a Government, even in the United Kingdom, does not like to share its secrets with twenty-four gentlemen not in the Cabinet. Therefore "secret" arrangements had to be made for confidential communication between the Board and the Indian Governments. The statutes of Parliament conferred upon two authorities the power of making a despatch or order "secret." The Board at home had a wide, but not an unlimited, range of discretion in dealing with a matter of business in the secret department. It might issue orders as "secret" on matters concerning war or peace, negotiations with the Native States, and foreign affairs. But the Governments of India might go further. They might mark their letters "secret," if they treated of the subjects just mentioned, and also if they concerned the civil government of India. The effect of a letter being marked "secret" was to exclude it from the general cognisance of the Court of Directors, and yet the letter had to proceed from that body. The procedure adopted to this end was as follows:—If the President of the Board prepared a despatch to the Governor-General and marked it "secret," he caused it to be sent by his secretary to a Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, with the following endorsement on the draft: "The Commissioners for the affairs of India

direct that a letter be sent by the Secret Committee according to the tenor of the foregoing draft." Thereon the Secret Committee, who were a small section of the Directors, and were under a sworn obligation not to divulge its contents, issued under their own signature, and as from themselves, the letter sent down to them for communication to the Governor-General or to the Governor of the Presidency concerned. When the Governor-General, or a Governor, in his turn either wrote a "secret" letter or replied to a secret letter, he addressed it to the Secret Committee and not to the Court of Directors, and the Secret Committee were bound by law to send it on to the Board of Control. The records of the India Office show how jealous the Board of Control was of its rights. It frequently censured a Government of India for writing to the Court on matters which, in its opinion, ought to have been made secret, and addressed to the Secret Committee. On the other hand, if the Government of India marked a letter "secret" on a subject in which the Board did not wish to concern itself, the letter was handed over by the Board to the Court for disposal.

The wonder is that such a system ever worked without intolerable friction. There were, however, three checks which operated to prevent any grave misuse of the arbitrary authority which, through the signature of two or three members of the Court, the President exercised in the name of a body of Commissioners. In the first place he was acting with the knowledge of his colleagues in the Government, or at any rate his acts involved them in a common responsibility. Secondly, the Court of Directors had its representatives in Parliament. When Hobhouse, afterwards Lord Broughton, was President of

the Board, Hogg, the Chairman of the Court and member of the Secret Committee, his political opponent, was also a member of the House of Commons. On rare occasions Hogg protested against the issue of a despatch from the Board, and carried his opposition so far as to demand an interview with the Prime Minister. At other times he would threaten opposition in Parliament, and so secure a compromise. The Company had other champions of its rights besides the Directors, and even in the House of Lords it arranged matters so as to secure a hearing. Thus indirect checks were brought to bear upon the Board in Parliament; and outside the Chambers the press was freely used. Thirdly, the Governor-General and the Governors could make their voices heard, and they maintained a constant "private" correspondence by the fortnightly mails with the President of the Board. It must be admitted that, even with these checks, the system of dual government led to mistakes which might have been avoided if the Board could have acted in closer consultation with members of the Court of Directors, who knew the feelings of the Indian peoples, and possessed an expert acquaintance with problems of Indian administration. The annexation policy attributed to Lord Dalhousie was in the main the policy of the Government and of the Board at home. The action taken by the Governor-General was not only approved in secret despatches, it was even suggested to him in private letters from the President. So, too, in the withdrawal of British troops from India, it was the Board which was responsible for measures which nearly led to catastrophe. The British Cabinet thought too much of its military difficulties at home, and too little of the dangers which it was incurring in India. The modern system under which the Secretary of State

for India works with expert advice by his side was devised to correct these tendencies, and may be held to possess advantages over the dual establishments of Cannon Row and Leadenhall Street. But whatever were the defects of the system, the Board and the Court between them succeeded in managing the affairs of India, and built up an empire which survived all the dangers of its early years of experiment.

The central authority in India was the Government, with its headquarters at Calcutta, consisting of a Governor-General, a Commander-in-Chief, and three members of Council. The duties of this body were nothing less than the superintendence, direction, and control of the civil and military government of the territories and revenues of India. This must be borne in mind in view of the pretensions set up by one Commander-in-Chief as to his right to alter the pay regulations. The Government of India was by law equally supreme in the military and in the civil departments. Lord Dalhousie calculated that 20,000 papers, exclusive of those concerning the administration of Bengal, came before him in the course of the year. The channels by which this flood of business was carried to the head of the Government were the four great departments—the Foreign, the Home, the Financial, and the Military, through all of which ran the thread of legislation. The business of the Foreign department included not merely questions of policy in connection with numerous Native States, but military arrangements with the contingents of troops, and measures for suppressing gang robberies and Thugs. This department supervised also the entire internal administration of States like Mysore, the Bandelkhand States, and the Punjab, which, owing to minority or other causes were

under temporary management. The Home department had to deal with revenue and railway concerns, as well as with the judicial and ecclesiastical establishments. The Financial department found full employment in matters of finance; and the Military included a vast variety of business, the clothing, equipment, and pay of the army, furlough rules, commissariat, ordnance, stud farms, military public works, and even Khedah operations for the capture of elephants. Upon the top of this catalogue Lord Dalhousie plaintively added, "the personal wrangles of the Military Board." It will be noticed that in 1848 there was no separate department of public works. In another particular the practice differed from modern days. The present system of a division of labour did not exist. The Governor-General on his first arrival received all the "boxes," and either orally or in writing gave his directions upon their contents. If his order required the concurrence of his colleagues, the secretaries passed on the papers to them. In each of the three presidencies Lord Dalhousie found a practice of minute-writing "to which there is no end." He limited the amount of writing in the Supreme Council to one minute on a subject, and expected his colleagues, if they could not agree, to meet for a final settlement of their differences. When the Governor-General left Calcutta the senior member became President of the Council, and the distribution of work and responsibilities between the Governor-General and the President in Council was arranged beforehand, and made the subject of legislation. The Governor-General could override his Council if necessary. Lord Dalhousie was uniformly strong and discreet enough to secure a majority on his side.

The control vested in the Governor-General in

Council over the government of the two presidencies of Madras and Bombay, and over the North-western Provinces which had been severed from Bengal, and were now placed under James Thomason as Lieutenant-Governor, was in theory complete, but in practice it was weakened by their distance from Calcutta, and, moreover, in the case of the Governors in Council of the two presidencies, by their direct correspondence with the home authorities.¹

It sometimes happened that while the Governor-General was opposing a measure the local governments were directly authorised by the home authorities to take action contrary to his wishes. In military matters the existence of three commands greatly hampered unity of control. But in the one department of affairs where it would have been natural to allow some measure of independence to the presidencies, namely, in the making of laws and regulations, the whole task was thrown upon the shoulders of the Government of India. The Act of 1833 merely allowed the four local governments to submit drafts or projects of laws, and it then rested with the Governor-General in Council, assisted by a fourth legislative member, to consider these projects, and to pass or reject them. The position in respect to Bengal was peculiar. The Governor-General, unhampered by any Council, was the Governor of that presidency. But one common tie of necessity placed all the four governments at the feet of the Government of India, for they depended upon it for their financial means.

Such in outline was the system of government, and

¹ Soon after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie, General Sir Henry Pottinger succeeded Lord Tweeddale in Madras, and Lord Falkland became Governor of Bombay in May, 1848. In each presidency there was a Commander-in-Chief and two other members of Council.

we may proceed to take note of the leading members of the supreme Government. The Commander-in-Chief was General Baron Gough, who in 1848 entered upon the seventieth year of his life. He took no part in the proceedings of the Council of which he was a member, for as soon as he was sworn in he had hurried off, like his predecessors, to the Hills. Thus he was detached from his colleagues, unable to give them at a crisis his prompt and valuable advice, probably jealous of the part taken by the military member of Council who was his junior, and disposed afterwards to resent the orders of Government, in the discussion of which he had, of his own will, taken no share. To the inevitable delay which communication by post, in the absence of railways, involved, were thus added misunderstanding and friction. Heavy expense was caused to Government by the Chief's residence in the Hills and the enormous quantity of transport which he required when he moved about. One Commander-in-Chief, Sir W. Gomm, even claimed the right to spend a part of his time at Chini, beyond the limits of his command, but this innovation was disallowed.

The three ordinary members of the Supreme Council were in 1848 Maddock (afterwards Sir Herbert), a Bengal civilian, who, on the expiration of his term of office in March of that year, was reappointed by Lord Dalhousie as a provisional Councillor; Mr. F. Millett, another civilian; and Major-General Sir John Littler, K.C.B., who had just vacated the military command in the Punjab. Sir Frederick Currie left the Council immediately after the arrival of Lord Dalhousie, having been nominated by Lord Hardinge as Resident at Lahore, in succession to Sir Henry Lawrence, an arrangement which had been communicated to the Earl

before he left England, and so far had received his acceptance. But it seemed to the new Governor-General a little inconsiderate that the actual issue of orders, which had the effect of removing John Lawrence from Lahore, where he was acting for his brother Henry, then absent on leave, should have been left for Lord Hardinge's successor, who had no option in the matter. Mr. Bethune, whose interest in female education is still gratefully remembered in Calcutta, replaced in March Mr. Cameron as head of the Legislative department. There remains the chief partner in the supreme Government, the young statesman who, at the age of thirty-six, undertook a burden which he described as "too heavy for the shoulders of Atlas." If the purpose of this book is achieved, his character will be read in his correspondence and in his actions. At the same time it may serve to direct attention to particular events in his life if a glance is cast at the picture drawn by others, and at the elements in his noble character which have been adversely criticised. As to his personality the following sketch was kindly drawn for me by Sir Richard Temple, who, a few weeks before his death, described in these terms the man to whose discriminating patronage he owed his early successes in life.

I am asked to describe the personal appearance of Lord Dalhousie when he was Governor-General of India. I saw him under circumstances which enabled me to observe exactly on several occasions, when he was in his heyday and his prime, that is from 1849 to 1852. At that time his stature looked somewhat short and small, but he was very well made. His figure was erect, and his carriage excellent. But if at first sight he gave an impression of smallness, that impression disappeared when he had anything particular to say or to do. Then his frame seemed to dilate; behind his nervous force there was evidently a bound-

less strength of mind and spirit. It was remarked by a contemporary writer that on such occasions he so rose and rose as to look every inch a king.

His head was equally worthy of attention. The hair was dark brown, the complexion fairly fresh and ruddy, the forehead broad rather than expansive, and not particularly high. The aspect varied much according as it was regarded in the front face or on the side face. The most characteristic point was the profile, with the straight line of forehead, the slightly aquiline nose, and the chiselled mouth indicating the firmness of steel. The front face was not quite so picturesque. The face then appeared somewhat broad in the upper part. The beauty of the nose was not so apparent as before. Still the strong brows, with all their mirth, gave an idea of power. So did the clear piercing eyes. The finely shaped mouth completed the ideal.

The voice had a good *timbre*, rich, resonant, and somewhat deep, and equally adapted to conversation and to public speaking. His manner in general was quiet, reserved, and masterly. But he was evidently able to flash forth as occasion might require.

The last time I saw him was at Malvern in Worcestershire, not long before his death. He had long suffered most acutely from a specific ailment (canker in the shinbone as I understood), and he was known to have borne up against his sufferings with all the fortitude that might have been expected of him. The figure had become stouter, the face broader, the eye duller. The voice alone reminded me of his former self. Much had happened to depress an ordinary man. His imperial policy had been judged, rightly or wrongly, by the outbreak of the mutinies in India. And he had been criticised unsparingly, with what justice or injustice I do not now discuss. But even at this hour, when he was sinking gradually under disease and sorrow, his voice and diction indicated an unquenchable courage.

His handwriting was a lesson to those who study caligraphy as an index of character. It had firmness, refinement, regularity, and yet a certain flow which indicated a readiness of thought and a play of ideas.

Such was the personal appearance of the Earl of Dalhousie, and from the catalogue of unsparing criticisms, to which Sir Richard refers, the following will

be selected for examination. He was charged with excessive interference. He himself told Sir Charles Wood that it was commonly reported that "he grasped all power to himself and meddled with matters with which he had no concern."¹ A gallant author,² who knew and admired the Governor-General, carries the charge a step further, and writes "he discouraged independent thought and action, and exercised a very powerful personal and concentrated control." A second count of the indictment was an "over-sensitive" disposition.³ Another critic⁴ says that he had "no imagination"; and a fourth⁵ has charged him with a "singular regard for public opinion."

The first of these criticisms has at least a half-truth to support it. Yet it by no means follows that, because Lord Dalhousie was himself a man of action, he made others inactive. There is no greater fault of which a strenuous ruler can be guilty than that he should paralyse the initiative of others by his own exhibition of energy, and thus leave his fellow-workers discouraged and passive. Is there any ground for attributing these consequences to the qualities of unceasing devotion to duty and vigilant control which the Governor-General displayed? He was not ashamed of his power of work. "The day," he wrote, "has but twenty-four hours in it in India as elsewhere"; and he made the most of its measure. Rising early, he worked with almost continuous application till 6 P.M., on occasions⁶ of special

¹ Quoted from letter to the Board, dated 4th of April 1854.

² General MacLeod Innes, V.C., *History of Lucknow and Oude*.

³ Letter from Sir George Couper, written in 1854.

⁴ Sir John Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, vol. i. book iii. chap. i.

⁵ Sir Edwin Arnold's *Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration*, vol. i. ch. i. p. 9.

⁶ Among papers left by his private secretary, Mr. F. F. Courtenay, is a slip dated the 29th of March 1849, Midnight, on which is written: "If you are up and have your breeches on come here. If not, without them.—D."

urgency carrying on his task far into the night. Endowed as he was by heredity with lofty instincts, and conscious of the duties as well as the privileges belonging to his rank in life, he proved a notable exception to Bacon's rule that "nobility commonly abateth industry." Neither climate, nor sickness, nor sorrow relaxed his incessant energy. To power of work he added a strong will and self-confidence, and he used these qualities more than once when the ship of State was sailing in troubled waters. But his own example neither discouraged nor paralysed others. His friendly relations with his subordinates, his loyalty to his predecessors and his colleagues, his absence of egotism, and his consideration to all those about him neutralised any bad effects of his own activity and exercise of control.

However masterful Lord Dalhousie was, there is ample evidence that men themselves of strong character among his subordinates, such as John Lawrence, Mackeson, Phayre, and Herbert Edwardes, understood and trusted him. They were not afraid to offer him their counsel even in matters which were not immediately their own concern; and it is impossible to read the many hundreds of letters which Lord Dalhousie carefully preserved from these men of courage and honest purpose, without feeling that a character which so thoroughly won their confidence was not domineering in the bad sense of the word. Content to rule in chief, he was not in the habit of weakening the authority of those under him by petty interference. The memory of his predecessors he used with tenderness, and even when bitterly regretting the reductions in the army effected by Lord Hardinge, never failed to recognise the financial and other reasons which led to that decision. There was nothing of vainglory or of egotism in his disposition.

In his speeches and in his despatches he never placed the Governor-General above the Governor-General in Council, or took personal credit for the actions of the Government. Even in the exercise of patronage, where the constitution of the Government gave to the Governor-General almost complete control, he would write to Hogg, as on the 5th of February, 1854, to say, "You must not give the exclusive credit of the appointment of your son to me. My colleagues were from the first as decided as myself on the merits of the subject. Indeed, Lowis was all for putting him in to the acting appointment, to which I demurred." He missed no opportunity of expressing his sense of obligation to the public services; nor did he ever fail in the most perfect courtesy and consideration to all about him. Instances of his kindly consideration for those about him abound in the letters which have been placed at my disposal. He apologises even for requiring his secretaries to appear in uniform on a hot day, the 10th of April, 1848, in Calcutta. "The Bishop comes to-day at 11 with his address. I am sorry to give you the same trouble as he gives me, and to ask you to be here in full dress. One of the secretaries to Government should be here also, and I suppose that Halliday is the appropriate victim!" He was regarded with deep affection by those brought into close relations with him, and his industry was frequently employed to relieve their shoulders in times of illness. To his private secretary, suffering from boils, the Governor-General wrote, "Unhappy Job, I truly pity you, and certainly will not send you any boxes." On another occasion, when his secretary had an opportunity of joining the hunt after wild boars, he wrote, "By all means stick pigs; but leave orders with your Baboo to bring all

letters to me." It is true that he made enemies by attacking the sacred rule of seniority, and by overthrowing Boards, but he evoked the loyalty and enthusiasm of others; and the mutiny itself, so far from illustrating a paralysis of independence, afforded abundant proof that the best qualities of the British character had not withered under the independent and strenuous rule of Lord Dalhousie.

The charge against him of being "over-sensitive" was a matter of general conversation, and it was brought to his knowledge in 1854 by a friend, Sir George Couper. He was then racked with ill-health and mental distress, and he replied as follows:—

You say you are anxious I should not take notice of what may be said offensive to me from home, because the authorities there already think me over-sensitive. There is much in a name, whatever Mr. Shakespeare may have said to the contrary. Wherefore the word "over-sensitive" may describe something very different. It is quite true that I have refused to allow the Court to insult me, as they used to insult my predecessors. It is quite true that I have not allowed them to blame me when I was right; and to tell me they "desire the Governor-General will forthwith" undo something which he had done, which he was perfectly right in doing, and which they were forced ultimately to confirm, simply because it was right.

It is quite true that I have not allowed the clerks of the House, who word the despatches which the Directors sign (with that carelessness which makes the collective members of a joint-stock company do what no individual gentleman among them would do) to address me as no well-bred gentleman would address his gamekeeper. All this is true. It is true also that when such things have been attempted, I have resented, resisted, and overcome them. It is true that I have refused to allow them at home to treat me as my predecessors were often treated, as though I were no more than a head clerk. They call this over-sensitiveness. I call it a proper and politic maintenance of the authority of a mighty office, whose responsibilities are in danger of being

increased, its character lowered, and its usefulness marred by the undue assumption and vulgar expression of a disproportionate authority at home. And what is the consequence? It is this, that while I defy any member of the Court to show that I have ever been otherwise than perfectly respectful and perfectly subordinate to the Court, they entertain a wholesome dread of me.

In this sense I shall continue to be over-sensitive.

It was, no doubt, necessary for the Governor-General to speak plainly to his subordinates and also to his many masters under the dual government at home. Communication was limited to an infrequent post, and an overworked ruler had no time to mince words. Where the safety of an empire was involved, a sharp word of command, or a short decisive opinion, became a necessity. Nevertheless one is inclined to think that irritation might have expressed itself in less uncompromising terms than those of the following extract from a letter to the President of the Board, dated the 29th of June, 1854 :—

I am unable to comprehend the censorious tone which marks some portions of your letter of the 8th May. My experience has however taught me that men who correspond over a space of 10,000 miles should watch their pens; for ink comes to burn like caustic when it crosses the salt sea. I therefore repress the inclination to say what I feel, and will merely reply that I am open to no blame; and will prove it.

Then followed a concise and conclusive answer, which, in its turn, called forth from Wood a confession that he had not been correctly informed of the facts when he wrote. There were other occasions, which will be noticed in their proper place, when Lord Dalhousie wrote in a glow of heat to Sir John Hobhouse or Sir Henry Lawrence, and his critics may draw what satisfaction they please from this infirmity of a noble mind. Those

who received the letters soon forgot and forgave any irritation caused by their perusal, and were the first to recognise the Governor-General's fervent zeal for the interests of his country and his Queen.

Sir John Kaye lays great stress upon the following characteristic, which if true would certainly have excluded the Marquis from the title of "great." "Dalhousie had no imagination. He had but one idea of the people among whom his lot was cast—an idea of a people habituated to the despotism of a dominant race. . . . He could not see with other men's eyes; or think with other men's brains; or feel with other men's hearts."¹ And having dwelt at length upon this defect, he offers this poor excuse for it—"the characteristic unimaginativeness of his race." The heaven-sent gift of imagination is a quality so precious that no biographer can lightly claim the full possession of it for the subject of his biography. But Kaye's picture is so overdrawn and distorted by prejudice, that it is an easy task to point out the faults in it. His indictment is supported, at first sight, by one of these sequences which men, wise after the event, are apt to regard as consequences; and to those who had not recovered from the long-drawn agony of the siege of the Lucknow Residency, there may have seemed to be something of incongruous satisfaction in the following sentence taken from the Governor-General's minute, dated the 28th of February, 1856:—"During the eight years over which we now look back, the British territories in the East have been largely increased; within that time four kingdoms have passed under the sceptre of the Queen of England, and various chiefships and separate tracts have been

¹ Kaye's *Sepoy War*, vol. i. book iii. chap. i. p. 356.

brought under her sway." But we who have witnessed the events of the last fifty years know that Lord Dalhousie by his policy of consolidation enormously strengthened the foundations of our Indian Empire. There is nothing surprising in his inability to foresee the Mutiny. As another Scotsman¹ of singular capacity, and not wanting in imagination, wrote while the outbreak was occurring—"we know nothing of the real character of the natives." But the instances which Lord Dalhousie gave of his faculty of imagination are both numerous and surprising. When Henry Lawrence made light of the affair at Multan, and John Lawrence, Currie, and Edwardes predicted its speedy fall, the Governor-General foresaw the spread of the rebellion, and the gravity of the difficulties with which he had to deal. When the Sikh armies were destroyed he felt that the moral conquest of the Punjab had still to be achieved, and his work was so thorough that the new province saved the rest of the Company's possessions. His own personal intercourse with the Sardars and people in the course of his tours won their admiration and regard, while his courteous reception of the Sikh sovereigns enlisted them on the side of the British power. Fully conscious of the inevitable antagonism of Indian customs, beliefs, and manners to the civilisation of the West, he appreciated the overwhelming advantages which improved communications, and especially the railway and the telegraph, would confer upon the Government, and he impressed upon the home authorities the necessity for increasing their European and decreasing their Native forces. Beneath the calm surface of Indian society he saw the rocks and shoals that must endanger the navigation of the ship of State, and he raised over and

¹ Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart.

over again the cry of alarm, "remember we are tranquil only because we are strong." He made firm friends of the sovereigns of the Native States, by respecting their internal independence, acting even against the advice of Lawrence in his treatment of Bahawalpur; while he anticipated and averted the dangers of a later period by taking Baluchistan under British protection and entering into a safe and friendly alliance with Afghanistan. When the Court at Ava drove him into war, he resisted the temptation of extensive conquest, and was wiser than Her Majesty's confidential advisers in predicting that peace would be assured and Pegu be safe without a formal treaty of surrender. He entered thoroughly into the conditions of that province, suppressing disorder within and disturbances on its frontier by his sagacious measures. He swept away the Military Board of Bengal, created the separate departments of government both military and civil, and so relaid the foundations of Indian administration that upon them still rests the existing structure. He saw clearly the material resources of India, developed new industries, explored its mineral products, and taught his masters that the country only wanted capital to make it prosperous.

He did more for the education of the Natives than any of his predecessors. So far was he from being possessed with the "single idea of a people habituated to the despotism of a dominant race," that he sought to remove rallying points for disaffection, and urged the Court to put an end to the sham royalty of Delhi. At the same time he strove to give the people fuller opportunities of taking part in their own government. He looked to them to supply his public works and his civil departments with well-trained officials. His

eye even took a more extended range, and he wrote :—

We govern India now by a limited despotism, because India is wholly incapable of governing itself, and we are wise in so doing. But we cannot, and we ought not, to anticipate that the condition of India and its population shall for ever stand still, and that it shall be in all time coming as wholly incapable of being admitted to a share of the government of itself, in union with its British conquerors, as it avowedly is at the present time !

These and other instances of his capacity to see far into the future, and to appreciate the feelings of the Indian people, will be noticed in their proper place in the course of this work. It may then seem to some that Lord Dalhousie even allowed too free a play to his imagination, as when he claimed independence for his Legislative Council. Enough, however, has been said on the third fault attributed to him by his critics, and we may pass on to the next.

Sir Edwin Arnold writes :¹—

But the key to his public conduct would be missing, if no notice were taken of his singular regard for public opinion. The passion for approval and consent, visible in his last anxious act, was conspicuous at every stage of his career ; and sprang from something deeper than vanity in one who had witnessed the omnipotence of the popular will preparing in 1848 to shake the powers of earth.

The “ last anxious act ” referred to was the discharge by Lord Dalhousie of a duty, which his predecessors had invariably performed, that of recording in a minute the chief events of his administration. Amongst his letters is one which may be aptly quoted here. On his

¹ Sir Edwin Arnold's *Marquis of Dalhousie's Administration*, vol. i. chap. i. p. 9.

return to England, Richard Bentley, the publisher, wrote to him on the 21st of June to express the satisfaction with which he had read the minute, just published as a Blue Book at the instance of Mr. Danby Seymour. He asked permission to publish it "by authority," with an introductory chapter, and any further particulars. The ex-Governor-General replied on the 24th of June, 1856, in these terms :—

I trust you will not think me discourteous or disobliging if I decline to take part in such a publication, even by the expression of sanction. Personally I have no wish whatever to keep myself before the public, and would prefer to remain completely in the retirement I have found myself obliged to seek.

Throughout his career, in the pages of his diary and in his letters to friends, Lord Dalhousie uniformly expressed his resolution to allow his actions and his official letters to speak for themselves. He rejected the counsels of those who proposed to take his part in controversies with Napier which were waged in the public press. He sat silent under misrepresentation in the Calcutta newspapers. He spoke very rarely in public, and set to his subordinates an example of dignified reserve. When he was called upon to settle the Oudh question, he wrote in his diary for the 9th of January, 1856 :—

I believe the work to be just, practicable, and right. With that feeling on my mind, and in humble reliance on the blessing of the Almighty, I approach the execution of the duty gravely ; and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt.

Here and elsewhere his diary conveys the impression of a man who preferred to commune with himself and settle his course with his own conscience. Guided by its dictates, he was so far from entertaining a "passion

for the approval and consent" of the public, that he evinced no idle curiosity about other people's estimate of him. By the terms of his will he deliberately committed his honour and reputation to posterity, and in his desire that his actions should be viewed through the just perspective of history, sacrificed that meed of eulogy which a contemporary estimate could not have declined to him while living.

Whatever opinion may be formed as to the value of the criticisms just discussed, there were certain qualities in the character of Lord Dalhousie that have never been denied. One cannot read his diary without realising that he was uniformly conscious of a strong necessity laid upon him to do his duty. To this high purpose he dedicated his very life and, so actuated, did not shrink from the task often forced upon him of asserting himself against opposition. His religious feeling was entirely free from cant, and though he rebuked levity of speech, he was fully alive to the ridiculous side of things. On his journey to the north-west he stopped at Bhagalpur, where he met the Commissioner, Mr. Brown, of whom he writes thus :—

He is a very pious, excellent man ; but he has not escaped a nickname like other particles of the salt of the earth ; so his piety and his shirt-collars together have fixed upon him the cognomen of a well-known character, Mr. Pecksniff. I looked very grave when the young gentlemen told me of it with great glee in the first pause after he had been presented to me. . . . But I laughed within myself despite of everything.

Of his constant trust in a Higher Power his diary bears abundant evidence. Thus, writing on the last day of the year 1848, he commences his retrospect in these words :—

I can record nothing more fitly than my gratitude to the Good God who has brought me during the year's course through perils by land and perils by water; who has sustained me through a year of sickness unknown to me before; has guided me through months of anxiety and public perplexity, and who enables me now to rest tranquil in the belief that, as the quarrel in which we are engaged is just and our motives pure, He will not leave us or forsake us, but will give us the victory over all our enemies, while we in our turn shall give the glory and praise to Him.

In the thankless task of distributing patronage he proved not only a good judge of character, a quality for the possession of which Sir Edwin Arnold gives him full credit, but fearless and just. He knew whom to trust in for advice, and he encouraged men worthy of his confidence, such as John Lawrence, to write to him with the utmost freedom on the subject of the qualifications of men in the services. His frequent tours in the Punjab, Sind, the Strait-Settlements, and Tenasserim, enabled him then to test the opinions of others by his own observation. Any doubt that he had as to the nature of the duties attached to an office, he satisfied before proceeding to choose his nominee. He was intolerant about "seniority pretences which rise up to mar everything." "If Colonel Lawrence is eligible for the place of political agent in Meywar, he is entitled to it. I wish you to see Sir H. Elliot and Mr. Thomason with reference to the exact ascertainment of the duties of the political agent. I will then judge of Colonel Lawrence's fitness for the post when I know what they are;" so he writes on the 8th of July, 1850, to his private secretary, to whose judgment alone he was not prepared to commit the responsibility that belonged to himself. He was exposed to the solicitations of

high personages on behalf of their friends or relatives, and one of these letters of commendation is thus endorsed :—"I cannot fancy B. suited to the Rajputana agency. I would do much to advance H., but I will not appoint any one questionably suited." Gratefully conscious of the legacy of well-chosen officials left to him by his predecessor, he was impatient when applicants appealed to promises of promotion said to have been made to them but not redeemed. Upon one such appeal he writes: "I decline to take up Lord Hardinge's old clothes, and I never gave Captain M. the slightest reason to suppose that I would give him this advancement." If Lord Dalhousie was determined not to advance men who did not deserve it, he was equally anxious not to waste the services he could command by putting the square man in the round hole. His private secretary mentioned to him the name of Richard Temple for the post of Under-Secretary, and the Governor-General replied, on the 30th of January, 1853: "I will think of somebody for the post. To take Mr. Temple would be ridiculous. It would be setting an elephant to draw a wheelbarrow."

There was another trait in Lord Dalhousie's character, the possession of which was denied by none of his critics, namely personal as well as moral courage. He never sheltered himself behind his secretaries or official correspondence. He advanced to meet the storm, and "have it out at an interview," as he notes in his journal. He travelled about unattended and unguarded, in order to give confidence to others and to show that he trusted the Sikhs. He covered long distances on horseback or in country conveyances regardless of fatigue and of his own chronic ailment. The district officers were

alarmed for his safety, and thought from his demeanour that he was unconscious of the risks he ran. - Dr. Needham Cust thus writes in his private memoirs :—

I took charge of my old district Amballa in December. The Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie, had to proceed in a palanquin from Jagadhri to Amballa. He had arranged to travel quite alone. I realised the danger, and with an escort of two officers of police, I accompanied him the whole night's journey on horseback. He slept quietly, unaware of the danger or of my protection; but he thanked me for it when we met next day. It would have been a bad job if he had been killed in my district. One or two officers had lately been attacked at night on the road.

His Lordship's diary, however, reveals to us the fact that he was fully conscious of the risks he ran, but meant to show his subordinates who were braving out the storm in exposed positions, as well as the native population, his own confidence in the final issue. A man so courageous, admired and approved courage in others. When, for reasons of State, he could not divert troops to rescue George Lawrence and his wife, he suffered almost as much as the prisoners themselves; and when they were released, he wrote in his diary, "our prisoners have come in, lifting Himalaya off my shoulders."

To Mrs. Lawrence he sent the following letter in March, 1849 :—

Madam—Since I cannot have the pleasure of seeing you here, I am sure you will permit me to take the liberty of addressing to you myself my hearty and cordial congratulations on your being once again in the midst of your family, and of those who have been long watching your fate with painful interest.

The kindness of your friends has permitted me during that time to see many of your notes, which you never meant for any mere official eye, and I trust you will not think I am taking too great a liberty in saying—for even at the risk of your displeasure

I must say it—that the perusal of them during the long course of your captivity, showing to me the gallant heart you kept up under it, the cheery face you put upon it, and the uncomplaining and confiding patience with which you bore it all, has filled me with a respect for your character and admiration of your conduct which, if I were fully to express them, you would perhaps suspect me of flattery.

In the hope of one day paying my respects to you in quieter times than the past, and some pleasanter place than Peshawar—I am, etc., etc.

DALHOUSIE.

It is time now to turn from this review of the system of government, and the qualities of the heads of administration, to the work which engaged Lord Dalhousie's attention during his first year of office. Being Governor of Bengal as well as Governor-General, he determined at the outset to make himself master of all his duties. Accordingly he relieved Sir Herbert Maddock of his duties as Deputy-Governor of Bengal, and personally administered every local detail of that presidency, with its forty millions of people, and its revenue of ten millions sterling. To Bengal at that time belonged the non-regulation provinces of Assam, Arakan, and Tenasserim, making a charge which is now apportioned to two Lieutenant-Governors and one Chief Commissioner. His experiences of direct administration proved of the utmost value to him when he had to guide the conduct of affairs after the annexation of the Punjab and of Pegu. The secretaries to the Government of India were astonished at his requiring that papers of all descriptions should first be submitted to him. When he had thus gained a knowledge of the business, he distributed it according to his own views. But he did not waste his energies. On his cousin, Fox Maule, urging him to spare himself, he replied, "Pray think better of me, as a man of business, than to believe that I do other

people's work. Before I came away from Calcutta, not fifty papers in a week were passed through my hands from the Government of Bengal."

In India itself, outside the Punjab, the history of 1848. which will be reserved for another chapter, there was little to cause the Governor-General anxiety in his first year of office. The general tranquillity, upon the maintenance of which Lord Hardinge had congratulated himself and his successor, was at first unbroken save by some minor operations conducted by Colonel Campbell in the Orissa tributary Mahals near Bod. The aboriginal tribes of Kandhs, who inhabited this rugged country, had been accustomed to kidnap human victims from the plains, and after fattening them for sacrifice, to offer them to the Earth God. When the ceremony was completed, the flesh and blood of the unfortunate victims were distributed among the village lands, and a portion was buried in each field with solemn rites. The operations undertaken for the rescue of such captives and the suppression of this abominable practice ended in the liberation of 235 Meriahs appointed unto death. Elsewhere everything in the Native States was reported to be quiet. From Nepal a complimentary mission arrived to welcome Lord Dalhousie and to assure him of goodwill. It is true that misrule prevailed in Oudh, that at Gwalior the Maharani had offered to Major Stevens a bribe of two lakhs of rupees, and that in Satara the question of allowances and pensions for the family of the ex-Raja was being hotly debated. But the general surface of society was hardly ruffled by these matters. In Hyderabad affairs were "boiling up into very hot water." The Nizam owed large sums to the Company, and His Highness and his Minister were not on good terms, a state of things which led the

home authorities to suggest a policy of interference, but the Governor-General saw no reason to expect that in the Dekhan matters would not run as smoothly as elsewhere. Indeed, the bankruptcy and resignation of Sir T. Turton, the Ecclesiastical Registrar of Calcutta, and his large defalcations, appeared to the Indian press at the time to be the most serious event in the history of the first quarter of the year 1848.

There were, however, two clouds on the horizon which gave more concern to the new Governor-General. He had come to India full of plans for developing railways and canals, and for introducing reforms in the civil administration. Their execution required money, and money was not forthcoming. The Nizam was found to be not the only defaulter. The Sikh Government had not paid a rupee of the subsidy due from it, a debt now amounting to over fifty lakhs. The late war had been a serious drain upon the exchequer; the opium revenue, a mainstay of Indian finance, was disappointing the estimates; and now on the top of all this a sudden order arrived for the remittance of a large sum in specie to London. The order was obeyed, but with much reluctance. Equally unsatisfactory to the Governor-General was a demand for the immediate despatch to China of a strong British regiment, the 25th, to take part in operations at Canton. At once there recurred to the mind of Lord Dalhousie the Duke's remark that Lord Hardinge need not have been "in such a d——d hurry" to reduce the army, for 50,000 Sepoys had been struck off the rolls, and the strength of the native regiments cut down from 1000 to 800 men. Although peace reigned in India, the responsibilities of the Government had been increased by the late war in the Punjab. Internal reform re-

quired public tranquillity, which alone rested upon force in reserve. The Governor-General complied, as we have seen, with the requisition for troops to be sent to China, but he wrote to the Duke of Wellington in these terms:—"We have no more Queen's troops in India than are sufficient for our own wants. Although at this moment everything is tranquil in India, yet no one can tell at what moment troubles may arise." He added that "the Bengal army wants a really good officer when Lord Gough retires, one who will really command them in peace as well as in war." These words were written on the 8th of February, 1848, and they show that the "man of no imagination" was not slow in forming a true estimate of an Indian calm, which has so often proved to be the calm of the centre of a cyclone.

The moving hand of the Legislature generally affords an index of the currents of history, and although Lord Dalhousie had on his arrival merely to carry through projects initiated by his predecessor and finally settled by the home authorities, there is one Act, Act X. of 1848, which had been read in Council on the 16th of October, 1847, and passed on the 8th of April, 1848, that demands a special notice. It was an Act for annexing the lapsed State of Mandavi to the presidency of Bombay. Thus the doctrine of lapse, so frequently regarded as the creation of Lord Dalhousie, was as a matter of fact in the process of being confirmed by the Legislature before he had even set foot on Indian soil. Mandavi was a small State in the Bombay presidency consisting of the town of that name situated on the bank of the river Tapti, and 162 villages attached to it. The founder was a chief of the aboriginal tribe of Bhils, whose successor, Darjan Sing, was ousted by a

neighbour, and replaced by the Peshwa, to whom thereafter the chiefs paid a fine on each succession. In 1803 the principality became tributary to the British, and by them an insurrection against the Raja was suppressed, fresh arrangements being made which brought it into subordinate relations with the Company. Between 1834 and 1839 three chiefs ruled in rapid succession, and on the death of the last of these the direct line of succession became extinct. The nearest claimant was removed by forty-two degrees from the common ancestor, besides being personally unfit to rule. Accordingly the Indian authorities, with the approval of their masters in England, decided to treat the State as a lapse, and, after making provision for the family and its dependants, to annex Mandavi, with full regard "to the interests of the people, the justice of the case, and sound policy." It was formally annexed from the 1st of May, 1848, and the Act passed by Lord Dalhousie was a verbatim reproduction of the Bill previously introduced into Lord Hardinge's Council. Lord Dalhousie, in short, had nothing whatever to do with the decision, or even with the discussion of the matter.

As to the rest of the Acts which the Governor-General passed in 1848, they are instructive as bringing into view the wide range of his new duties. Twenty-seven Acts were carried through dealing with the local government of Calcutta, coroner's juries, Thugs and Dacoits, goods imported in foreign bottoms—in respect of which, owing to a mistake, two Acts were passed—municipal matters in the settlement of Prince of Wales Island, Singapore, and Malacca, the prohibition of trading by officers of the Supreme Courts, salt and stamp duties, administration of the Surat Nawab's estate, the avoidance of wagers, the restitution of

Banganapali to Native rule, discipline in the Indian navy, and a measure especially required by Lord Dalhousie himself providing for the exercise of certain executive powers by the Governor-General himself when absent from the Council of India. This last Act was passed on the 10th of October, 1848, to enable Lord Dalhousie to proceed to the seat of war, and at the same time to carry on the administration of his office. Into the details of these measures, many of them of much importance, and affecting the presidencies of Bombay and Madras as well as the Strait-Settlements, it is unnecessary to enter; but that passed on the 25th of November for the restoration of the estate of Banganapali deserves a passing notice, since it gave back to native rule a property which was to have been resumed and permanently annexed. The credit of this act of justice no more rests with Lord Dalhousie than any possible discredit for the annexation of Mandavi, since it merely gave effect to decisions of the Court of Directors passed in 1838 and 1842.

By the beginning of October Lord Dalhousie had served his apprenticeship in the regular routine of Indian government. He had mastered the details of Bengal administration, had classified the work of each department of the Government of India, and had endured with patience the social and State duties that devolved upon the representative of the British authority.

"I spent," he wrote, "Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday at Barrackpore with Lady Dalhousie, went into Calcutta very early on Thursday morning, remained there Thursday, Friday, and Saturday, and returned to the country on Saturday night "at e'en." We used to have a dinner of twenty-five at Barrackpore on Tuesdays, one of fifty at Calcutta on Fridays. My Lady, during

the summer months, had an evening dancing party once a month, and we had three very large balls at Calcutta, and one at Barrackpore. The ailment which plagued me so sorely in England for a year before I came away, became greatly worse in consequence of the bodily exertions I was obliged to make at the various stopping places on the voyage. I was rendered quite incapable of taking any exercise on horseback or on foot, and was obliged to drive out like a dusty old dowager in a carriage every evening. Apart from this local ailment, I had never recovered fully the effects of my three years of office. The responsibility of the work in India, and the enervating effect of the Bengal climate, soon began to tell on my frame, previously weakened. In May and June I had attacks of dysentery, and in July I grew so weak that I began to doubt whether I should not be obliged to beat a retreat. In case of any one but the Governor-General, my illness would not have been of much moment. A few weeks', or even days', relaxation, rest, and change, would in all probability have set me up again. But in the case of a Governor-General, relaxation, rest, and change is a prescription that all the dispensaries of the Honourable Company are not capable of making up. If the Governor-General stops, everything stops; if he is not wound up, the departments of Government cannot go; the State machine has run down."

Fortunately, however, his good constitution averted the necessity of any serious repairs. In September the Governor-General grew better, and having received news from the Punjab of the defection of Raja Sher Sing, he embarked at Calcutta on the 11th of October for Allahabad, *en route* to Amballa, whither he had sent his camp. The voyage up the Ganges bore no resemblance to the royal rushes of modern Viceroys by railway or steamer at express speed. Lord Dalhousie made a serious business of his tours, examining with his own eyes the work of his subordinates, taking note of the requirements of their districts, and missing no opportunity of forming his own opinion as to the personal qualifications of the local officials. He embarked

at Fort William in an atmosphere of fidget, "the authorities in general and Captain Johnson, the fat superintendent, in particular fuming and agitated as their own boilers." His fleet consisted of three steamers towing flats. He was accommodated on the first steamer, but dined on the second, the *Surma*, in order that Mrs. Elliot, Mrs. Melville, and Mrs. Atkinson, the wives of the secretaries with him, might not have the trouble and risk of boarding his own steamer. Through the solitudes of "the vast labyrinth of crossing, twisting streams, mud, jungle, and dead stumps which mark the Sanderbands," they made their way slowly for two days till they turned north and reached Kumarkhali with its deserted factory, a sad scene of desolation. Thence entering the main stream of the Ganges, called locally the Padda, they anchored at Rampur Bauleah, the headquarters of the Rajshahi district. Its cheerful aspect pleased the Governor of Bengal, who visited the jail and held a levée of the local magnates. Consulting Bishop Heber's diary at every stage, Lord Dalhousie did not fail to note the great strides made in the last twenty years in moral and social improvement. At Bhagalpur he was glad to meet Lieutenant Don, whom his father had appointed adjutant in 1830, "an adjutant still ! such is luck in a seniority system !" At Monghyr, his secretary, Halliday, nearly missed the high honours and official distinctions which the future had in store for him. Visiting Sitakum, a sacred well of boiling water, he made a false step, and as nearly as possible fell backwards into the pool. "The immeasurable terror which was gathered into his face, and the notion of a secretary to Bengal being boiled like a bantam's egg struck us," writes the Governor-General, "(most improperly but unanimously) as so exquisite, that we

shouted with laughter then and for days afterwards. Halliday, poor fellow, on his part 'got a turn,' and did not recover his shaken nerves till long after we had recovered our gravity."

Patna, Dinapur, Ghazipur with Lord Cornwallis's tomb, and Benares, were visited in turn, and at the last place the "good-humoured" Raja and the pensioned Delhi princes were received. Here too the Governor-General met Lehna Sing, the Sikh Sardar, "who smelt the battle from afar, and on this occasion, as in 1845, left the Punjab before the turmoil had commenced. He shook from head to foot like an aspen leaf as long as he remained in my presence." Stopping at Ramnagar, at Chunar, where the whole length and breadth of the river was illuminated by little floating lamps, "tiny little messengers from faerie land," and at Mirzapur, the scene of Mr. Money's wonderful influence and perseverance in effecting improvements, the party reached Allahabad on the 10th of November, and here Lady Dalhousie joined her husband for five days.

The journey was resumed by horse dak, and on arrival at Cawnpore the Earl received a visit from the chief officer of the ex-Peshwa, a pensioner living at Bithur on an annual income of nearly £100,000. His visitor more than once ejaculated, "You are very young," and received the reply, "The more time for work before me." At Agra the Governor-General enjoyed most profitable conversations with Mr. Thomason; at Delhi he heard all that Sir Thomas Metcalfe could tell him; but he did not see the King, "who had long since refused to see the Governor-General except as an inferior." This was a strange experience for the son of the Commander-in-Chief, who had received at the hands of His Majesty a dress of honour and a title the sound of which had

amused James Ramsay in his younger days. Meerut and Saharanpur were painfully reached by tedious marches in carriages dragged by bearers (since all horses were required at the front), and on arrival at Amballa the traveller received at midnight news "of the first unhappy affair at Ramnagar, in which poor Colonel Cureton was killed. The despatch was followed by other letters calculated to make me very anxious as to the management of the army, and the ultimate success which would attend it in the hands in which it was."

Early in December the march was resumed to Ludhiana.

My object was to place myself near to the Commander-in-Chief, so as to give him the advantage of rapid communication with the Government, enabling it by me to afford prompt co-operation and aid to the army under his Excellency's orders. With that view, I had fixed on Ferozpur as the best position, being the furthest point in our own territories, a large station, and near to Lahore, as well as to the Commander-in-Chief.

But on his arrival at Amballa, Lord Dalhousie found that, owing to famine and drought, supplies of every kind were very scant, and he therefore pitched his camp at Makhu, a cavalry station on the further bank of the Satlaj, near Sobraon. Arriving here on the first day of the year, he remained for five or six weeks. As he passed the field of battle at Aliwal he noted the great changes which even a few months had effected, inasmuch that Colonel Angelo, who commanded a regiment there in 1846, was unable to distinguish the different positions.

"The rivers," writes Lord Dalhousie, "had cut in on the field so deeply that the tombs of the officers who had been buried near the centre were, as far as they remained at all, across the river in the Jullunder Doab; and the village of Aliwal itself, which had

been in the very middle of the position, was now not fifty yards from the Satlaj. The whole of the district was burnt up and desolate. The carcasses of cattle, dead from starvation, lay in heaps near every village, and the gaunt forms of the poor beasts that still wandered weakly round the huts were 'just perfect veesions.' The plain of Makhu itself, which we reached on the 1st January, 1849, was as dry and brown as any snuff-box. Food could hardly be found for the camels and elephants."

Here for the present Lord Dalhousie must be left watching the dark days of the new year big with events of momentous consequence. He had not failed to notice the character of the country through which he had passed, the devastating proofs of famine, and the destructive powers of the rivers swollen with the melted snows of the Himalayas. These inexorable forces of nature had been considered by him when he resolutely refused in the hot weather to stake the fate of India upon hurried and incomplete operations against the Sikhs. Even now, the intelligence which reached him from the front filled him with anxiety.

But he was braced by his own strong courage, and by the conviction that he possessed the confidence of his country, of which Her Majesty had been pleased to give him a fresh proof by graciously conferring upon him the Green Ribbon of the most Ancient and most Noble Order of the Thistle soon after his arrival in India. With these thoughts, and a humble prayer to Almighty God that he would grant victory to the British arms and restore peace to India, he awaited the issue of events in his camp at Makhu.

CHAPTER V

THE PUNJAB REVOLT

“War with a vengeance”—Past history of the Punjab in three periods—Rise of the Sikhs—Ranjit Sing consolidates his power by conquest and alliances—Lord W. Bentinck’s darbar at Rupar—Ranjit Sing’s death, disorder, and Sikh war, 1845—New settlement with the British, 1846—Lord Hardinge’s policy—Signs of the coming storm—Progress of reforms—Murder of Agnew and Anderson at Multan, 1848—Arguments against delaying operations—No apprehension at home—Impatience of delay in India—Herbert Edwardes hurries to the rescue—Crosses the Indus, but is obliged to retire—Battle of Kineyri won 18th of June, its results—Second victory at Sadusain, 1st July—Darbar’s troops sent forward by the Resident at Lahore—Decision of the Commander-in-Chief—British force despatched from Lahore by Currie—Sher Sing’s attitude on reaching Multan—Siege of Multan begun and raised owing to defection of Sher Sing—Lord Dalhousie increases the army and hurries on preparations—Progress of the rebellion in the Punjab—Bhai Maharaj’s failure—Canova’s murder at Haripur—Attock fort seized by Nicholson—Mutiny at Peshawar, 23rd of October, and the Lawrences taken prisoners—Lord Dalhousie’s policy criticised—His own vindication of it—Danger from inundations—The hot season—Want of preparations—Uncertainty as to extent of rebellion.

IN the last chapter the events of the year 1848 were summarised, and the narrative carried down to the date at which Lord Dalhousie reached the Punjab frontier. It will now be necessary to retrace our steps for a while. On the eve of departing from Calcutta the Governor-General invested Sir John H. Littler and Sir Dudley

St. Leger Hill with the insignia of the Bath, and on Thursday the 5th of October, 1848, he attended a ball given in his honour at Barrackpore by Sir Dudley and other officers. In reply to a speech made by General Hill, Lord Dalhousie reminded his audience of the hopes he had entertained on coming to India. "I hoped to see prosperity and peace realised over this vast empire. I have striven for peace, I have longed for it. But since the Sikh nation desire war, on my word they shall have it, and with a vengeance." He then appealed to the patriotism of his military hearers with such eloquence that, according to the reports published at the time, Colonel Gairdner of the 16th Grenadiers burst into tears, and a younger member of the party declared himself so inspirited as to be able to fight a regiment. But before the deeds are examined by which these brave promises were redeemed, it is necessary to look back at the course of British relations with the Government of Lahore. Without such a retrospect the importance of the step taken by the Governor-General when he gathered up the fruits of victory and annexed the territory of the five rivers, cannot be realised. His decision taken on his sole responsibility amounted to an entire abandonment of a policy which had been persistently tried and had twice failed, the maintenance of a strong and friendly Sikh kingdom, as a buffer State between the Company's territories and the thorny country-side of Pathan, Afghan, and Baluch tribesmen beyond the Indus.

The history of British dealings with the Sikhs falls naturally into three periods or chapters. In the first period, between 1803 and the death of Ranjit Sing, which occurred on the 27th of June, 1839, the iron hand and discreet foreign policy of the Maharaja kept order

within the Punjab and preserved friendly relations with the British. So far the scheme of the buffer State had succeeded. The second period was one of anarchy and military insolence, yet the British Government did not depart from its attitude of non-intervention until the Sikhs attacked the Company's territory and forced on the first Sikh war. Then it was inevitable that new arrangements should be made, though the Lahore kingdom still remained an independent Native State under the treaties of the 9th of March and the 16th of December, 1846. The third period witnessed the honest endeavour of a British Resident to prepare the way for the accession of the young Maharaja as sovereign of the Punjab, reformed and reorganised during his minority. The effort failed. From Multan the tide of rebellion rose until it overspread the Sikh nation, and once more a life-struggle between the British and the Sikhs ended in hard-won victory for the former. Then, and not till then, Lord Dalhousie gave up the attempt, and under an instrument dated the 29th of March, 1849, the Punjab ceased to be a buffer State under Native rule, thereafter to become a strong and loyal province of the British Empire.

The story of the rise and fall of the Sikh kingdom can only be told in brief outline. Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Baba Nanak preached the doctrine of universal toleration, and saw gathered round him many faithful "Sikhs," or disciples, in the Punjab. The dominant spirit of religious bigotry and caste rose against these reformers, and the sect of disciples suffered cruel and constant persecution. In 1675 Guru Govind brought to his downcast brethren a revival of their hopes and ambitions. He it was who transformed them into a military caste, gave them henceforth the title of

“Sing,” or lion, and prescribed for them their distinctive dress of blue cloth, steel ornaments, and flowing hair. Their enemies redoubled their efforts to extinguish the new faith. Disciples and masters witnessed the torture and death of their families, and themselves suffered martyrdom. Once more the Sikh religion seemed to be well nigh extinguished, when Banda and his followers, driven mad by the memories of the past and their own experiences, determined upon retaliation with fire and sword. The emperors of Delhi, who had been content to look with indifference upon this religious movement, took alarm, and hunted down the Sikh demons like wild beasts. Delhi for a week gloated over the execution of the miserable prisoners, and Banda himself was called upon to kill his own child. When he refused to do so, the child was butchered before his eyes, and he himself was torn to pieces with hot pincers. But a Sikh residue survived with a legacy of unquenchable hatred. The kingdom of Delhi was now overrun by the Afghan invader, and its emperors lost their grip upon the Punjab. The Sikh brotherhood, organised this time into twelve *misl*s, or confederacies, under twelve Sardars, grew steadily in power, and its parliament, or Gurumata, met in peace for the decision of great national issues of war and policy. The Afghan rulers of the Punjab found sufficient occupation in the troubles of their own home country, and the long-wished-for opportunity at last presented itself. The critical moment in Sikh history found a man fitted to take command. Ranjit Sing, the Sardar of the Sukarchakia *misl*, was only eighteen years of age when he obtained from Shah Zaman, the Afghan governor of the province who afterwards succeeded to the throne of Kabul, the post of Governor of Lahore. He soon made himself indepen-

dent ruler, and extended his rule over the country between the Jhelum and the Satlaj. In this task he was assisted by another Sardar, Fateh Sing Ahluwalia; but it was not long before he grew jealous of his associate's rivalry, and dismissed the Gurumata, taking into his hands the whole government of a united Sikh kingdom.

Ranjit Sing offered an alliance to the British, but 1806. his overtures were declined. Events soon compelled the Company to reconsider their decision. Holkar, flying from the pursuit of Lake's victorious army, appealed to "the lion of the Punjab" for help, and the British were obliged to take measures to forestall him. Accordingly Colonel Malcolm was authorised to conclude, on the 1st of February, 1806, a treaty of friendship with the two Sardars, Ranjit Sing and Fateh Sing, under which their possessions were secured against British invasion or seizure. Three years later Ranjit Sing's preponderant influence, and his title of Raja of Lahore, were recognised by Lord Minto in a treaty of perpetual friendship, and the Sikh kingdom was treated as an equal power with international rights. From this moment Ranjit Sing went forward. In 1813 he wrested Attock from the Afghans, and extorted from his political refugee, Shah Shuja, the famous diamond, the Koh-i-Nur, which Nadir Shah had carried away in 1739 from Babar's successor at Delhi. The several petty States in the Punjab were rapidly annexed by force or intrigue, and Multan, Kashmir, and Peshawar were added to the Sikh kingdom. When diplomatic difficulties occurred between the British and the Sikhs, Ranjit Sing knew how to give way. He accepted the British protectorate over the cis-Satlaj States, and abandoned his claim to Shikarpur in Sind. Lord William Bentinck, on his

side, held a grand *darbar*¹ at Rupar in 1831, and gave renewed assurances of friendship to the Lion of the Punjab, whom he now styled Maharaja.

An interesting piece of historical byplay at this meeting between his predecessor and Ranjit Sing was told to Lord Dalhousie in 1849 by one who was present at it, and is here repeated as it was narrated.

The Maharaja on this occasion brought out some of his famous horses, and among them his celebrated favourite, Leila. After parading him for a time, the Maharaja insisted on making a present of him on the spot. Lord William demurred, but the Maharaja pressed on him the gift. The Governor-General, embarrassed by this, and knowing the great value that Ranjit set on the possession of the horse, asked Captain Benson what he should do. Captain Benson recommended him to accept the gift, and then give it formally back again. Accordingly this was done. Leila was accepted, and then another bridle having been sent for and put on the horse, Lord William begged the Maharaja to accept this proof of his friendship and esteem; and Leila was led back to his own stable, to Ranjit's infinite and undisguised delight.

While Lord William was firm in disallowing any encroachments on Sind, he left the Maharaja a free hand in the Punjab. Foreign officers, Allard, Ventura, Court, and Avitabile, perfected the military machine, and the Sikh power became formidable. The British Government made Ranjit a party to the triple alliance with Shah Shuja, which Lord Auckland negotiated; and the Sikh Government on its part afforded facilities for trade and navigation as well as a right of passage to the British for operations against Afghanistan. The Company's policy of a friendly, strong, buffer State seemed crowned with success, when in the middle of 1839 Ranjit died and the first period was closed.

¹ *Darbar* signifies both Native Government and a reception. In the former case it is spelt with a capital letter.

Almost instantly the scene was transformed. As 1839. soon as the iron hand which had controlled 82,000 soldiers and preserved order in the Punjab was gripped by death, the friendship of the Sikh nation proved illusory, and its powerful army became a source of danger to its own Government and to others. Kharak Sing, weak and dissipated, fell a victim to slow poison in 1840. His son, returning from his father's funeral, was killed by the fall, designed or accidental, of an archway. Regimental committees set up and deposed kings. Sher Sing, suddenly enthroned by the army, was as suddenly removed by an assassin on the 15th of September, 1843. The young Maharaja, Dhulip Sing, was now recognised by the British Government as King of Lahore, and the soldiers elevated to the high office of minister his mother's paramour, Lal Sing, having first cleared the road for him by the incarceration of Jawahir Sing, brother of Maharani Janda, and the murder of Raja Suchet Sing. The army, feared on all sides, was petted with concessions, but its appetite grew in eating. At last, on the 17th of November, 1845, the Khalsa, or commonwealth, resolved on war with the British, and the Satlaj was crossed. Lord Ellenborough was ready with proclamation and troops. Within a few weeks four pitched battles were fought—Mudki, with a loss of 872 killed and wounded on the British side; Firozshahr, with a still heavier loss of 2415; Aliwal; and finally the decisive action of Sobraon, on the 10th of February, 1846. The Punjab, mainly owing to the treachery of the Sikh commanders Lal and Tej Sing, lay at the feet of Sir Henry Hardinge, but the time for annexation had not arrived. Once more the policy of leaving a Native State on the frontier was to be tried, and although the Sikh kingdom could no longer be allowed to be indepen-

dent, its internal sovereignty was to be left to it. During the minority of the infant Maharaja, adequate control and protection were extended to the State, but it was confidently hoped that the boy would be so educated as to enable him to fill the part of a protected prince of India in subordinate alliance with the Company.

1846. Accordingly, by the treaty of Lahore, dated the 9th of March, 1846, and a subsequent treaty dated the 16th of December, but ratified at Bhairawal on the 26th of December, 1846, a new chapter was opened. The Punjab State lost the country between the Satlaj and Beas rivers, called the Jullunder Doab, and the district of Hazara, both of which became British, while Kashmir was eventually transferred to Gulab Sing; the remainder being left under its Sikh rulers. The strength of the army was reduced to 20,000 infantry and 12,000 cavalry. As a temporary measure, a British force was placed in possession of the fort and city of Lahore, for which the State was to pay the cost, in addition to a fine levied on it. The administration during the Maharaja's minority was entrusted to a Council of eight Sardars, presided over by the Resident, Colonel Henry Lawrence. This Council was assisted by the best officers, civil and military, whom Lord Hardinge could lend for the task; and the fact that the list included MacGregor, John Lawrence, Herbert Edwardes, Lumsden, Taylor, and Nicholson, testifies to the genuine anxiety of the Governor-General to set the Native Government on its legs again, and to avoid annexation.

But the third period in the history of the Sikh kingdom ended as the preceding period had ended, in failure. The State Council reigned but did not rule. In their name the administration was puri-

fied, but reform was as hateful to the Native members of this body as to the whole class of officials of the State. When a governor or a lawless district rose in rebellion against the new dispensation of justice, the Sardars at the head of the administration were expected to repress a movement with which they cordially sympathised; and those who condemn Lord Dalhousie, for annexing Native States on failure of heirs to the last ruler, must bear in mind his experience of the Lahore kingdom. Henry Lawrence had warned Lord Hardinge of the difficulties of carrying out the policy entrusted to him, but his warning had been received with more than coldness by a Governor-General who flattered himself that he had pacified the country. On the 29th of April, 1847, the Resident wrote :—

The national independence of the Sikh character may dictate the attempt to escape from under foreign yoke; for however benevolent be our motives and conciliating our demeanour, a British army cannot garrison Lahore, and the fiat of a British functionary cannot supersede that of the Darbar throughout the land, without our presence being considered a burden and a yoke.

Lord Hardinge endeavoured to neutralise the effect of this official warning by remarking in his despatch to the Secret Committee of the India House that the Resident had no facts which “entitle his impressions to more credit now than they would have obtained at any other time. Attempts at revolt are less likely to be made under existing arrangements than if the Raj had been subverted and the Punjab declared to be a British province.”

Then on the 3rd of July, 1847, the secretary wrote to the Resident in these terms :—

Our position is not that of active agents, but of friendly advisers, with the power, where necessary, of enforcing our advice,

and when justice cannot otherwise be obtained, of directly acting ourselves. But this must be the last resource. The Resident has full authority to direct, to control, all matters in order to ensure good government. He is required to pay attention to the feelings of the people, to preserve the national institutions and customs, and to maintain the just rights of all classes. It is politic that the Resident should carry the Native Council with him, the members of which are, however, entirely under his control and guidance.

Temperance and moderation in the exercise of his powers were at the same time enjoined upon him. But not even a Henry Lawrence with all his sympathy could achieve this impossible counsel of perfection. The facts as reported to the Government of India told their own tale. "All classes of officials," wrote the Resident, "from the highest to the lowest, regard office only for what is to be obtained by it, and consider the people as just so many cows to be milked." There was no form or kind of oppression which had not been "systematically and openly committed by the governors, judges, magistrates, and constables." The friends and relatives of the Native Council and the ruling family were the most incorrigible offenders. Forced labour, torture and mutilation, traffic in women, Suttee, female infanticide, and organised robberies, at which the State officials connived, were a few of the more prominent evils which the British officials immediately set themselves to correct. But their views of reform were shared neither by the native court nor by the old officials, who complained among themselves of the "foreign yoke." The Maharani Janda Khaur was of one mind with her Sardars. In a letter to the Resident, dated the 9th of June, 1847, she bitterly complained of his tendency to ignore her and her Sardars' advice. "So long as the Maharaja is sovereign of his own kingdom, it is the same as if I

was sovereign myself." In August the rift between the Native Government and the foreign reformers was made publicly manifest to the whole Sikh nation. In the presence of the High Priest of the Sikhs, the Council of Regency, and the officers of State, both Native and European, certain honours were to be conferred in darbar upon Sardars Tej Sing, Chattar Sing, his son Sher Sing, and others, for public services. An official announcement had been made that the honours were conferred "by the Maharaja at the advice of the Resident," and the great hall of the throne of the Delhi kings was sumptuously furnished for the occasion. At the moment when Sardar Tej Sing knelt before the child-king of Lahore to receive the saffron mark on his forehead, the little boy, tutored by his mother, deliberately folded his hands and shrinking back into his chair refused to perform the part assigned to him. Henry Lawrence adroitly ignored the offence and called upon the High Priest to officiate, but the word *igwa*, seduction, passed from mouth to mouth round the assemblage, and no one left the hall without being witness to the public affront that had been cast upon the British Resident and his earnest band of reformers.

The scene might possibly have passed by as harm-1847. lessly as stage thunder had it not been for a plot, which was soon afterwards discovered, for the murder of the Resident and the loyal Tej Sing at a garden-party given by Henry Lawrence in the Shalimar gardens. The Maharani's private secretary, Buta Sing, was proved to be deeply implicated in the plot entrusted to one Preyma, who had been a commandant in the service of Maharaja Gulab Sing. The Queen herself was "cognisant of the design, if not its instigator." Lord Hardinge could not shut his eyes to these unpleasant

symptoms of impending trouble. The Maharani was removed from Lahore to the Shekopura fort, thirty miles distant, in order, as the proclamation, dated the 20th of August, 1847, announced, to exclude her from meddling in public affairs and listening to seditious intrigues, as also with the view to ensuring for the young prince such an education, "that at the expiration of the present treaty peace should be preserved by the kindly understanding existing between the Maharaja and all classes of his subjects." On the day following the issue of this reassuring announcement, Henry Lawrence took leave, and his brother John—appointed to officiate in his place—at once threw himself heart and soul into the work of reforming the administration, and of winning over to his side the hearts of the masses of the people. The Maharani had carried off with her large hoards of money, and she entered into negotiations with the ex-Maharaja of Bimber to raise troops for her service. As a consequence of her action the guns in the fort of Shekopura were removed for safe custody to Lahore. When Janda Khaur had by these means been rendered powerless for harm, the acting Resident turned his attention to the state of the finances and the relief of the agricultural classes from oppression. He found that the tax-gatherers owed enormous sums to the treasury, while the cultivators were ground down to the dust, and often compelled to sell themselves into slavery. "I have now," he wrote on the 31st of August, 1847, "a petition by which it would appear that a mother, her two sons and daughter, were sold as slaves for eighty rupees." The revenue was being collected by the Native State's officials at the point of the bayonet. To the collections on account of the land revenue, which was rather over half of the gross pro-

duce, were added a number of miscellaneous and oppressive customs duties. John Lawrence "rejoiced men's hearts," as he himself reported, but not the hearts of the Sardars and provincial governors, by abolishing customs duties, and ordering his subordinates to introduce summary settlements of the land revenue limited to one-third of the gross produce. To other classes of the community unlooked-for relief was given. The Mahomedans, for instance, although a majority of the population, had been forbidden by Sikh intolerance or revenge to chant their Azan, or cry to prayers, from their mosques. This piece of tyranny was redressed, and their religious rites were respected. Thus on all sides the work of reform proceeded rapidly, and when Henry Lawrence returned for a brief period to duty, he was able to report that general tranquillity and contentment reigned in the Punjab. The Darbar, it is true, had not paid any of the subsidy or debt due by it to the British Government, but it was confidently hoped that its obligations would be discharged as soon as the new arrangements made their influence felt. Such was the position of affairs when Lord Dalhousie, carrying out his predecessor's intentions, sent Sir Frederick Currie to relieve John Lawrence, who since the second breakdown of his brother's health had been acting as Resident. In the event of necessity Currie was authorised, as his predecessors had been, to address the Commander-in-Chief directly, while for ordinary contingencies the British garrison in the Punjab under General Whish was at hand to carry out the Resident's orders, and the Council of Regency had the Darbar's troops at its disposal.

Diwan Mulraj from his citadel at Multan watched with grave alarm the rising tide of reform. He be-

longed to the old school, and preferred to squeeze what he could out of the cultivators, keeping no tell-tale accounts, but paying to the Darbar an annual lump sum in lieu of the settlements based upon a fixed demand and payment in money which John Lawrence was rapidly introducing. He had good reasons for his preference. On his father's death he had inherited seventy lakhs as his own share of the paternal self-acquired estate. In 1844 he had succeeded his father as Governor of the province of Multan, in trust for the Lahore State. The British advisers of the State had ascertained that the Lahore treasury was losing heavily by the bargain, and negotiations between Mulraj on the one hand, and the minister Dina Nath and John Lawrence on the other, had taken place with a view to revising the contract. In 1846 an agreement was arrived at that Mulraj should pay for his stewardship an annual sum for three years of more than nineteen and a half lakhs of rupees. But the Governor of Multan was not content with a profit of over seven lakhs a year; he threatened to resign unless a reduction was made in the sum at which he was
1848. assessed. Lord Dalhousie acted with caution. He was on the point of sending Sir Frederick Currie to Lahore as Resident, and therefore directed Lawrence to take no immediate action, but to leave the matter to be looked into by his successor. On the 16th of March Mulraj repeated his request to be relieved of his charge, and the Lahore State thereon appointed Sardar Khan Sing Man to succeed him, on a fixed salary of 30,000 rupees a year in lieu of the contract system. The Sardar set out for Multan with an escort of some 500 State troops, while two British officers, Vans Agnew of the Civil Service and Lieutenant Anderson of the

Bombay European regiment were appointed respectively Political Agent and Assistant Agent, with orders to forward the carrying out of the new arrangements. The British officers travelled by road to Multan, which was some 220 miles distant from Lahore, while Khan Sing Man and the escort proceeded thither by water. The officers thus lost a valuable opportunity of gaining the confidence of their men, and of watching their proceedings. On the 17th of April Agnew and Anderson arrived at Multan, and joined the rest of their party on the following day. Diwan Mulraj at once civilly called upon them, and proposed to take them over the fort on the morrow. Vans Agnew was surprised by a remark made to him by Khan Sing, and on the 18th of April he communicated it to the Resident in these terms: "I don't know what has put into Sardar Khan Sing's head some imagination that we had better get the fort into our hands as soon as we can. Everything seems to bear out the character Multan has always borne for peace and quietness."

On the 19th of April the two young officers rode unarmed into the fort, of which they took formal charge. As they were coming out with Mulraj at their side, they were treacherously attacked; and in his second letter, which Agnew at once despatched to the Resident, the brave lad thus described the wounds they had received:—

Anderson is worst off, poor fellow; he has a severe wound in the thigh, another on the shoulder, one on the back of the neck, and one on the face. I think it most necessary that a doctor should be sent down, though I hope not to need him myself. I have a smart gash on the left shoulder, and another in the same arm. The whole troops have mutinied, but we hope to get them round.

P.S. (in another handwriting)—I am having my wound dressed,

so cannot write myself at this moment, to beg of you to ask Cocks to let my friends know I am in no danger.

These words were written from a Mahomedan Idgarh or house of service into which the wounded officers were carried. At 9 A.M. on the following morning, April the 20th, fire was opened from the fort on their shelter. Their escort went over to the enemy without either striking or receiving a blow. Khan Sing made terms for himself, the two British officers were butchered where they lay, and their heads, severed from their mutilated bodies, were given to Diwan Mulraj, who rewarded the murderers.

The news of the catastrophe reached the Governor-General in Calcutta on the 4th of May, and was immediately reported to the Board and to the Court. The next step was to await the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, who had been consulted by the Resident, and who advised that military operations should be deferred until the autumn, when his preparations would be complete.¹ Lord Dalhousie felt that this unavoidable delay would at any rate give time to the State of Lahore to show whether it was able

¹ The Commander-in-Chief wrote on 30th of April, 1848, as follows:—"There can be no doubt that operations against Multan, at the present advanced period of the year, would be uncertain, if not altogether impracticable; whilst a delay in attaining the object would entail a fearful loss of life to the troops engaged, most injurious in its moral effects, and highly detrimental to those future operations which must, I apprehend, be undertaken" (see page 143 of Papers relating to the Punjab presented to both Houses of Parliament, May, 1849).

To Lord Dalhousie he also wrote on the 12th of May, 1848:—"The amount of force proposed will be about 24,000 men of all arms, 8,000 of which will be Europeans. This also may appear an unnecessarily large force, but it must be borne in mind that we shall not only have to take Multan, but also to be prepared for any outbreak in the Punjab, and to be on our guard against the intrigues, and possibly the open defection of our at present doubtful allies. . . . I have taken the liberty to touch upon the increase of the native army to the old establishment, but I feel that no time is to be lost, there being from twelve to fifteen thousand drilled soldiers out of employment, ready to take service wherever they may get it."

to crush a rebellion against its own authority, and whatever dimensions the disorders might assume, he would, by the month of November, be able to place in the field an army which could deal with any foe or combination. He was still more influenced by the consideration that it was too late to save the lives of his officers, and therefore resolved to wait until the autumn and to organise victory in the meanwhile. Having arrived at that determination, he declined for the present to sanction the enlistment of the additional troops for which the Commander-in-Chief had asked, and which could not be employed for some months to come. While, then, he gave orders to make preparations, he determined not to incur any premature or unnecessary expense until the time for action approached. His reasons for this policy will be explained in greater detail hereafter, and at this point it is only necessary to take account of the cross currents of public opinion against which he had to steer. The decision to which he adhered with steady persistency satisfied no one. At home the authorities had been induced to believe that the danger had been grossly exaggerated, and that the arrangements devised to meet it involved an unnecessary expense. The Commander-in-Chief chafed at the delay in giving him back the military forces which Lord Hardinge had so lately reduced, and in taking up the transport which he would eventually require. The Punjab officers, including John Lawrence, minimised the strength of the defences of Multan, and cried for instant vengeance upon the murderers and rebels. A feeling of indignation and alarm spread throughout India, and, regardless of the arguments for delay, one and all demanded instant action of some sort. The successes gained by Edwardes, which Lord

Dalhousie estimated at their proper value, seemed to add force to these counsels for an immediate advance across the swollen rivers of the Punjab.

Perhaps the most violent of these currents was that which set in from home, since it was from that quarter alone that the Governor-General must look for sanction to a policy that involved a heavy expenditure. Henry Lawrence was on leave, and his great experience indicated him as a sound adviser. But his charitable nature and his deep sympathy with the Sardars of the Punjab misled both him and the President of the Board. Sir Henry, at least, wrote Sir John Hobhouse, was "under no apprehension," and expected the speedy submission of Mulraj. He scouted the idea of a widespread rebellion, declared any combination of Sikhs with Mahomedans as "ridiculous," and when informed that the Duke of Wellington recommended the mobilisation of 10,000 soldiers, told Hobhouse that he had "no notion that anything like that number will be wanted." Lord Hardinge naturally made light of the passing disturbance in a country which he had so recently declared to be perfectly tranquil. Sir Charles Napier was more cautious, but he told the Home Government that "a force of 19,000 men was unnecessarily large for the work in hand." Sir John Hobhouse adopted the tone of his advisers, expressed his confidence that order would soon be restored, that Multan "will have fallen and your troubles will be at an end before this letter reaches you," and on the 24th of June, 1848, he added: "I have consulted Lord Hardinge and Sir Henry Lawrence on this business and find that neither of them entertains any apprehensions of a general outbreak in the Punjab or adjacent provinces, nor has the transaction produced the slightest sensation here."

One immediate and far-reaching consequence was that reported by Hobhouse in his letter dated the 6th of July, 1848 :—

I have had a good deal of correspondence with His Grace on the subject of the Command-in-Chief of the army, and the result has been that Lord Gough is to remain in his present position until further notice, so that if the Multan campaign is to be undertaken on a great scale, and the head of the army should chance to act in person, the honour and glory will belong to that brave and most fortunate veteran.

History brings about strange paradoxes. Before a year had passed, the Government which thus gave to Gough an extension without consulting the Governor-General, sent authority to the latter, on the 8th of March, 1849, authorising him to supersede the Commander-in-Chief; and Hobhouse, who had repeatedly thrust upon Lord Dalhousie the opinions of Henry Lawrence, wrote on the 21st of April, 1849 :—

There must not be two masters in the Punjab nor indeed in all India. The worst of these clever functionaries placed at a great distance from supreme authority, is that they are too apt to set up for themselves, and assume independent power. Sir Henry has, I think, a little, and perhaps not a little, of this disposition, and he must be checked. You must be the master, so far as gentlemen in India are concerned.

But while the fit of optimism lasted at home, public authority and public opinion lent little support to the Governor-General, who alone had to face the crisis and its consequences.

Of the position in India itself a brief account will suffice. Lord Gough asked for additional troops and pressed for expensive measures of preparation, which neither the state of feeling at home nor the existing state of affairs in India justified Lord Dalhousie in

conceding. The Indian press railed at delay, and taunted the Government with treating their European soldiers as "cold-weather soldiers." John Lawrence wrote, on the 30th of April, 1848, to Currie; "Multan is a place of no strength; there is in your office a description of the fortifications drawn up by poor Anderson. The place can't stand a siege; it can be shelled from a small height near it." Taylor, Abbott, and Nicholson raised their voices in favour of instant action. It was hard to resist such pressure from all sides. But the Governor-General never wavered nor altered his mind. Having sought the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, and made up his own mind, he resolutely set to work to carry out his plans. He strengthened the position at Lahore and in Jullunder, and quietly prepared for victory in the cold weather.

Edwardes was the first to act. He was sitting in his tent at Dera Fateh Khan on the sultry afternoon of the 22nd of April, when one of the letters despatched by Agnew, which was addressed to General Cortlandt commanding a small force of Lahore troops at Bannu, was brought to him. Deeming the matter one of urgency and observing the "flying seal," he opened it, read the account of the attack, and without an instant's hesitation made up his mind as to the course he should pursue. He collected together all the troops he could muster, consisting of two guns, twenty swivel guns on camels, called *zumburas*, twelve infantry companies and 350 horsemen, and reckless alike of the intense heat and of the risks he ran, set off to the rescue of his fellow-countrymen. On the 25th he reached Leia, the capital of the Sind Sagar Doab, to learn that he had crossed the Indus too late to save their lives. But even then he hoped to make a diversion and to contain Mulraj in his

fort until Cortlandt could join him and some plans of active operations be devised. On the 25th of April he wrote to the Resident, "If Multan is to be reduced, it must be from Lahore, and by our own British troops, and I hope to God they are already on their way, or the whole of Dera Ghazi Khan will be in insurrection with the hill tribes summoned by Mulraj. If he has the spirit, he will cross the Chenab and crush me. In that case I shall throw up entrenchments and stand." His letter ended with a wistful glance at reinforcements, and a characteristic touch of playfulness: "There are two guns and four or five hundred men at Jhang who would be very welcome here; at present I am very like a Scotch terrier barking at a tiger. If a week only passes over, I shall have got together enough men to hold on. If not, we are in God's hands, and could not be better placed."

The Scotch terrier could bite as well as bark. He was no doubt unduly sanguine and held too lightly the power of his enemies; but even now as a lieutenant he justified the character which Lord Canning drew of him in his minute dated the 2nd of July, 1859, "the able and fearless Commissioner of Lahore." With the aid of a Pathan officer named Foujdar Khan, he instantly began to recruit Pathan and Baluch levies from the country round, while he awaited the arrival of Cortlandt with Darbar troops from Bannu, and the British troops from Lahore which he had asked for. He also pressed upon the authorities the expediency of calling upon the Nawab Bahawal Khan, ruler of the Native State of Bahawalpur, to send to his aid a force of the Daudputra troops. But there was treachery in his own camp, for Mulraj's officers had already summoned their Sikh brethren to join them in Multan. On discovering this

new danger, Edwardes wrote to the Resident: "What can any of us expect after Agnew? You must take a wider view of this matter. I am not one to whine over a danger that I should face"; and thoughtful of others, he reminded Currie of Lawrence's wish "to banish that Jezebel from the Punjab." For it was now well ascertained that the Maharani had been intriguing with Mulraj, and that a widespread plot against the British was only beginning to unfold itself.

Edwardes had crossed the Indus only in the nick of time, thereby frustrating the plans of Mulraj, who had intended to seize all the boats there, and whose emissaries were already raising soldiers in the Sind Sagar Doab. But having reached Leia, he was unable to remain there. Mulraj knew that the force opposed to him was small and untrustworthy. He therefore sent 8 guns and 4000 men against it, and Edwardes, who could not be sure of 1000 out of his own 1500 men, and had only two guns, was obliged to recross the Indus on the 31st of May. Before retiring he made the mistake of playing for his own hand, and opened negotiations with Mulraj through one of the Diwan's officers named Mustapha Khan, an unauthorised move which naturally brought upon him a rebuke from Lord Dalhousie.

Painful as it was to him to retrace his steps, he suffered a far heavier disappointment when he learnt that military operations on the part of the Government of India were to be deferred to the cold weather, and by being required to confine his attentions mainly to the trans-Indus districts. But it was really a piece of good fortune that circumstances compelled him to place the Indus between the Multan rebels and himself. For General Cortlandt had only six guns, six *zumburas*, and two regiments with him, and one of these regiments

was "required to keep the other from open mutiny and desertion." On the other hand, Mulraj had now thrown across the Chenab 15 guns and 6000 men. Nothing but indecision and divisions on the part of the commanders stood in the way of their adopting one of two safe courses, either of preventing a junction between Edwardes and Cortlandt, or of barring the road to the advance of the Nawab's troops from Bahawalpur. Owing to this failure on the part of his enemies, Cortlandt was enabled to join forces with Edwardes at Dera Ghazi Khan on the 6th of May, and four days later the Nawab Bahawal Khan crossed the Indus with some 10,000 Pathans. Thus reinforced, the gallant lieutenant resumed offensive tactics. On the 18th of June, in a pitched battle which lasted nine hours, he inflicted a severe defeat upon Mulraj's force at Kineyri, a place four miles from the Chenab, and captured six guns, the levies whom he had only recently enlisted behaving with the most desperate valour. General Cortlandt was occupied on the right bank of the Chenab in the difficult task of getting the troops across, but the Daudputras bore the chief brunt of the artillery duel until Cortlandt's well-disciplined regiment, with Subhan Khan's Musalmans, decided the fate of the day by a brilliant charge, and completed Edwardes's triumph.

The young soldier was so elated with his victory, that on the 22nd of June he urged upon the Resident that the siege of Multan should be commenced at once. With the Nawab of Bahawalpur's troops he had now a united force of 18,000 men with 30 guns, including those captured, and he wrote: "We are enough of us in all conscience, and desire nothing better than to be honoured with the commission you designed for the British army. All we require are a few heavy guns, a mortar battery,

as many sappers and miners as you can spare, and Major Napier" (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) "to plan our operations." Events proved clearly that Edwardes was too sanguine, but for the moment he did not see that; and it was a fresh disappointment to him to be told in reply to his requisition that it would be useless to send heavy guns without artillerymen and an abundant supply of ammunition. It is due to the "terrier" to admit that his brilliant success was not over-rated by him alone. The Resident, Sir Frederick Currie, made the mistake of sending forward the Darbar's troops under Sher Sing, who, as will presently be seen, had been ordered to halt when news of the death of the officers reached Lahore, and he could not forbear joining in the song of triumph. "The neck of the Multan rebellion may be considered broken. The fort of Multan is all that remains to the Diwan; the whole of the territories are in our occupation or that of our ally Bahawal Khan. My combinations have been everywhere successful." A Nemesis drove him even further, and he added: "The ticklish force of Raja Sher Sing and his Sardars is now at Tolumbra; its fidelity may now be depended on, and it will be advanced to Sardarpur, twenty miles from Multan." Lord Dalhousie did not share these expectations, nor was it long before Currie had reason to regret his own action and to wish that he had never committed himself to the confident opinion expressed on the 22nd of June.

But for the moment everything prospered with Edwardes. On the 1st of July he reported "the second general action and second victory which this force has fought and gained within a fortnight." On this occasion General Cortlandt met 11,000 of Mulraj's forces at Sadusain, almost under the walls of Multan,

and entirely routed them, with a loss on his side of only 281 killed and wounded. The enemy had, it must be admitted, only ten guns against twenty-two, and although Mulraj's artillerymen served their pieces with fanatical obstinacy, the superior fire of Cortlandt's batteries forced them to retire, a movement which quickly became a rout. As the fugitives were making good their retreat into the fort, Mulraj lost patience with them, and planting two guns at the end of a bridge, poured into them a deadly fire, while amid the panic numbers perished in the stream. As a consequence of this victory Mulraj and his army were shut up in the fort and city of Multan, and Edwardes made a further appeal for the immediate despatch of a British force. On the 3rd of July he wrote :—

Now that we are at Multan, the inclemency of the season is no longer an argument against sending Europeans, for I will undertake to dry the nullah, and put them under cover, in the city of Multan, within forty-eight hours of their arrival. They could come from Lahore in boats down the Ravi and Chenab in a week.

The very next sentence was written for Edwardes by his clerk Quin, and reported an accident which had just happened owing to a false alarm and to his having hurriedly thrust his pistols into his belt. One of them accidentally went off, lacerating his right hand so severely that he could handle neither sword nor pen. A few days later he dictated another letter denouncing the "bugbear of inundation," and besought the Resident to give the rebels no more time for maturing their plans and "ripening the rebellion of Multan into a second Punjab war."

The Resident had made one mistake in allowing the Darbar's troops to proceed. In that he had acted upon his own responsibility and given to Edwardes allies of doubtful loyalty, which had never been asked for and were not desired. But now he saw an opportunity of correcting his mistake, if mistake it was, by sending after the Sikh troops a British contingent, upon whose fidelity both Edwardes and himself could rely. Currie, therefore, in exercise of his authority, called upon General Whish, on the 10th of July, to despatch a British force to Multan. His action, which met with no approval from either Lord Gough or Lord Dalhousie, although the latter acquiesced in it, can only be fully understood by reference to the steps which he had previously taken. When he received Agnew's letter reporting the attack upon him and the mutiny of Khan Sing Man's escort, he regarded the events as "unfortunate and unpremeditated," but at any rate they were acts of rebellion against the Lahore State. Accordingly he despatched towards Multan seven battalions of infantry, two regiments of cavalry, 1200 irregular cavalry, and three batteries of artillery collected from the Darbar's various military stations, accompanied by Diwan Dina Nath. He reported his opinion that the Sardars in command of the force were to be implicitly relied on, though the soldiers were not equally trustworthy. He also requested General Whish to hold the movable column of British troops at Lahore ready to follow at once. When, however, he learnt that it was too late to save Agnew and Anderson, he countermanded the march of the British column, and called back Sardar Sher Sing and the other Sardars whom he had directed to join the forces already sent out, in order to tell them that

they must now "by their own resources put down the rebellion of their own Governor, aided by their own troops and officers." The Sardars represented that they could not trust their troops, and intimated their desire to return to Lahore. But this proposal was as unpalatable to Currie as the news of their despatch to Multan proved to be to Edwardes. The latter, when he heard of their departure, at once warned Currie that they would only aggravate his difficulties and augment the mutinous forces at the disposal of Mulraj. Currie, on his side, was glad to get the troops away from Lahore, and to keep at hand the British column upon whose fidelity alone he could rely. For the present, then, the Sikh troops under Sher Sing were halted on the road to Multan, and Whish's force stood fast at Lahore.

Currie then, on the 27th of April, addressed the Commander-in-Chief, urging that it was of the utmost importance "to do the job for ourselves." "It is for your Lordship to determine, in a military point of view, the possibility of such operations at this season of the year. The political urgency is very great." Nevertheless, though he considered that Mulraj could offer no effective resistance, he admitted that the fort of Multan was strong, the heat excessive, and that when the river Chenab rose the fort would be insulated by a sheet of water extending for a mile or two. Finally, he could spare no troops from Lahore. On the 30th of April¹ Lord Gough replied that it was too late to save lives already sacrificed, and that there were insuperable objections to an immediate advance. Operations undertaken at this season of the year would

¹ See footnote, p. 156 *ante*.

be "uncertain, if not altogether impracticable," and inevitable delay would be most injurious in its moral effect, and highly detrimental to those future operations which must, he apprehended, be undertaken. At the same time Currie addressed the Governor-General on the subject, and Lord Dalhousie on the 8th of May decided, as already mentioned, to await the decision of the Commander-in-Chief, observing in a letter, written on the 19th of May, that any orders given by him in ignorance of the action taken by Lord Gough might tend rather to embarrass than to assist the Resident. As soon, then, as the Governor-General received the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief, he adopted it and issued orders for the preparation of a force ready to perform any task allotted to it in the cold season. Currie had no option save to accept this decision. But it was characteristic of him that when Lord Gough, on the 13th of May, proposed a force of 24,000 men to take the field in November, the Resident adhered to his mistaken view of the situation and expressed his belief that one-third of that force would be found ample. He added: "If the Khalsa army can be kept from joining Mulraj, the atrocious misconduct of the Diwan and his troops may be easily punished. I have great hopes that this may be effected."

It is not surprising that, while the Resident was in this frame of mind, the news of Edwardes's successes unduly elated him. On the 10th of July he took upon himself to order General Whish to move without further delay his troops and a siege train of thirty-two pieces to Multan, "from a conviction of its political necessity and military practicability." "We have but to march," he added, "and to send by water a British

force with siege guns to effect our object at once." Lord Gough was opposed to this change of plans, and the Governor-General's military colleague, Sir J. Littler, concurred with the Commander-in-Chief. But as the Resident had full power to call upon Whish for assistance, without consultation either with the Commander-in-Chief or the Governor-General, his orders were not interfered with, and Lord Gough confined himself to suggesting that the General should take two brigades instead of one, with a European regiment attached to each and a proper proportion of artillery. As to the Governor-General, in a letter to the Duke of Wellington dated the 7th of September, 1848, he explained his own action in the following words :—

When I received the Resident's despatch announcing he had ordered off a force and commenced his preparations, I had no option but to confirm his order. To hold the troops fast from the commencement was safe; to countermand the movement once commenced would have shown vacillation, and betrayed want of unity between the Resident and his Government; it would have disgusted our own men, and would have been attributed to fear, and to fear only, by the natives. Consequently it would have encouraged rebellion and have done more mischief than letting them go. Accordingly the Government of India confirmed the order, and have done everything in their power to promote the success of the enterprise. I have authorised Lord Gough to draw quietly up to the frontier support from behind, in case of need; and he has strengthened Lahore and Ferozpur afresh.

The force consisting of nearly 7000 men has arrived at Multan and taken up a position waiting for the heavy guns. They were on their way, but the officer in command of the train writes to say that he does not expect the batteries can open before the middle of this month.

The arrival of Sardar Sher Sing and his troops at Multan brought matters to a climax in that part of

the Punjab. Friend or foe, the Sikh officers and troops must of necessity show their colours. When once the siege was opened, they must fight either on the side of the British or on that of Mulraj. In the hope of gaining time, Sher Sing had adroitly managed to allay some of the misgivings with which Edwardes had regarded his approach. On the 4th of September the latter wrote :—

Should Chattar Sing succeed in raising anything like a national movement against us, I should not expect Raja Sher Sing to remain faithful, however well he may now be inclined. But I believe him to have taken a sensible view of Punjab affairs, and to be convinced that another Sikh revolution will annex his country to British India.

The “Scotch terrier” was not so well served by his imagination as Lord Dalhousie. The truth was that the plans of the Sikh leaders were not yet matured. Some of their schemes had miscarried; Bhai Maharaj had failed, and George Lawrence had so far defeated the designs of Chattar Sing and maintained at least the appearance of British authority at Peshawar. What Sher Sing desired was delay, in order that the fire of rebellion might be kindled at the same moment in all parts of the country, and he was waiting for a signal from his father before he threw off the mask himself. But he could not control events, and Currie’s action in ordering both Sikh and British troops to Multan not only upset the calculations of the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General, but also forced the hand of Raja Sher Sing.

On the very day when Edwardes was flattering himself that the Raja had taken a sensible view of the position, the long-delayed siege of Multan opened

with a proclamation issued by General Whish on the 4th of September, and addressed to the inhabitants of Multan city and the garrison of the fort, inviting their surrender within twenty-four hours of a salute "to be fired at sunrise on the 5th in honour of Her Majesty the Queen, and her ally, His Highness Maharaja Dhulip Sing." Thus, at even this late date, the rebellion was treated as a rebellion against the ruler of Lahore; and, had wiser counsels prevailed, the Native State might yet have been preserved. On the refusal of this invitation to surrender, two courses were proposed by Major Napier, either to take the town by a *coup-de-main*, or to march round to the north and attack the citadel by regular approaches. Edwardes attended the conference at which these proposals were discussed, and at last began to realise that the operations were not so simple as he had supposed. The first course was criticised because it left no time to carry to an issue certain negotiations with Chattar Sing which had been opened at Lahore through Raja Dina Nath. Moreover, the attack might fail, and it would certainly involve a heavy loss of life. The second proposal was rejected because Edwardes was obliged to admit that he could not undertake to keep open communication by road with Bahawalpur. It was therefore decided, in preference to either of these courses, to run a trench from the Daudputra camp north-east for a mile to Ramtirath, and to throw up batteries along the entrenchment. Ramtirath was accordingly taken possession of on the 7th; and on the 12th an ineffective attack was made on the Sikh post, in which the casualties on the British side were 15 officers and 131 rank and file killed or wounded. On the 14th of September Major Napier, who had meanwhile been wounded in the leg, reported that

Sher Sing had gone over to the enemy with all his troops—7000 men with ten guns and two mortars.

This event was the turning-point in the history of the rebellion, and it at once indicated to Lord Dalhousie that the time had arrived when he should be justified in increasing the army and preparing for war on a large scale. At Multan itself, General Whish thought himself obliged to raise the siege. The Governor-General was extremely dissatisfied with his conduct of the operations, and if Lord Gough had not pleaded that it would be contrary to public interests to supersede him, his supersession would have taken place. The general, however, acted upon his experience of the fact that the natural defences of the position were too strong for the force at his disposal. It was therefore more prudent to withdraw and await the reinforcements that were to arrive from Bombay. This decision may have been sound, but the haste with which it was carried out was discreditable. Numerous bags, gabions, and fascines were left behind in the hurried retirement, and even the working tools were with difficulty brought in. Edwardes with his levies, deeply mortified at the disappointment of his hopes and assurances, fell back to his old camp at Suraj Khand, while the British force camped on the field of the battle of Sadusain, thus securing its communications with the trans-Indus districts and with Sind. Currie had to report the failure of measures which he had ordered upon his own responsibility, and to excuse himself by the plea that Major Napier had misled him as to the strength of the fort, and that during the past two months the defences had been greatly improved. As to Sher Sing, he lost no

time in throwing down the gauntlet. A manifesto was published calling upon the Sikh nation to expel the Feringhis, under whose "tyranny and craftiness" both their possessions "and their religions were threatened."

The Governor-General was not inactive. Hitherto he had contented himself with reinforcing Lahore, placing the fort of Govindghar at Amritsar in the charge of a British regiment, and moving a Queen's regiment from Meerut to Amballa, and another from Amballa to Firozpur. A steamer on the Indus had also been sent north before the floods could stop its passage, in order to facilitate the passage of troops. In the country between the Beas and the Ravi altogether 11,740 men were collected, while between the Beas and the Satlaj a force of 9430 men was assembled. The position was thus described by him in a letter written to the Duke of Wellington in September :—

I felt confident that the force at Lahore and in the Jullunder, with the support we had on this side of the Satlaj, might defy the Devil, much more the Khalsa. Therefore I confirmed the order not to move the British troops till October, informed the Darbar of the reason, told them the day of retribution would come, and directed them, if they wished to save their Government, to preserve the peace of the remaining districts, and stay the progress of the rebellion.

But now something more was needed. He had heard from Hobhouse that the action of Mulraj had not produced "the slightest sensation" at home. He had therefore, notwithstanding Gough's recommendations,¹ hesitated to take the strong step of sanctioning the

¹ See footnote, p. 156 *ante*.

restitution to the army of the companies which Lord Hardinge had so recently reduced. The time had now arrived when he must incur that responsibility. It was obvious that the Lahore State could not, or would not, stay the rebellion, and the British Government must undertake the task for it. Accordingly, on the 30th of September he asked the authorities at home to send out forthwith three European infantry regiments of the Queen's army, a request with which they at once complied; and as regards the Company's native army, he authorised recruitment up to the former establishment of 1000 privates for each infantry regiment, and 500 sowars for each irregular cavalry regiment, with a corresponding increase of native officers. All military officers who could be spared from civil employment were recalled to duty with the colours, and express orders were issued to the Resident and all British officers to abstain from giving any guarantee as to the lives and property of the Sardars, or as to the fate of the people of the Punjab, which could fetter the future action of Government. Reinforcements were despatched to Lahore from Ferozpur to meet the contingency of an attack from Sher Sing, who had then left Multan to join his father Chattar Sing in the neighbourhood of Gujarat. Additional troops were sent to Multan, although, even with their aid, General Whish was unable to renew the siege until the regiments ordered from Bombay should arrive. Having thus done all in his power to secure the safety of Lahore, and to prevent any disaster elsewhere pending the completion of his preparations for the approaching campaign, Lord Dalhousie remained in Calcutta inspiring others with his own self-confidence, and standing resolute against a storm of abuse and counsel. His letters show that

the one anxiety which constantly pricked his heart was the fear that his officers who were holding isolated posts, and their wives, might be put to death. But he cared nothing for the attacks of the press, satisfying both his own conscience and the authorities at home by a statement of his reasons for adopting the opinion of the Commander-in-Chief as to an autumn campaign.

Meanwhile every eye was turned to Peshawar, where George Lawrence, supported by his wife, still maintained the authority of the Darbar and held back Chattar Sing. So far, the rebels had failed of the success they counted on, and the rising tide of disaffection had encountered unexpected difficulties. At Bannu, for instance, Mrs. Cortlandt, "whose nerves had been fortified by some years' residence in the Punjab," had secured on her side the men of two batteries of artillery, and had persuaded a mixed force of eight companies detached by Edwardes on special duty to return to Bannu as they were ordered. The Maharani, before her removal from Shekopura had sent emissaries to Kabul, Kandahar, Kashmir, Jamu, and Rajputana. The Rajput chiefs paid no attention to her agents, nor had Gulab Sing of Kashmir gone further than to strengthen his positions on the frontier. The Amir Dost Mahomed had moved troops from Kabul to Jalalabad, but he still hesitated to commit himself to what Edwardes had called an "unnatural alliance" with the Sikhs. On the other hand, the State of Nepal offered to the Governor-General the aid of eight regiments, an offer which it was not thought advisable to accept.

Even the prophets appeared to have prophesied false things. They had told the people that the Khalsa would be restored to full power, and had indicated as

the coming saviour a holy man or Guru, named Bhai Maharaj, who had been deeply implicated in the Preyma case. Some hundreds of disbanded soldiery joined him at Dinanagar, a hundred miles away from Lahore in the direction of the hills, and with him crossed the Ravi, being everywhere welcomed by the villages, and quickly growing in numbers till they exceeded 5000 men. By a rapid move a strong force from Lahore encountered the Bhai's followers and dispersed them. On the arrival of the residue at Jhang, a further attack was made upon them, and the rebels were driven into the Chenab, where 600 were drowned, and 300 men and their officers were taken prisoners, while the Bhai himself, losing hold of his black mare's tail, was reported to have perished in the waters. But his previous successes had greatly impressed and excited the country through which he passed.

In August, however, a more important incident had occurred in Haripur, the capital of Hazara, although even there the Sikhs did not score a complete success. A report got about that the town was threatened by armed Mahomedans; and Sardar Chattar Sing ordered an American officer in the Sikh army, Kumedan Canova, to bring his five guns out of the town and place them under his own protection outside. Canova, suspecting mischief, refused to move without the sanction of Captain Abbott, whereupon the Sardar ordered a regiment to enforce compliance. Canova fell riddled by bullets, and the guns were then removed. Nicholson at once asked for a brigade to be sent to Hazara, but the military authorities and the Governor-General were afraid to weaken the garrison at Lahore. A force of 13,000 men was, however, concentrated at Firozpur, and on hearing this Chattar Sing lost no time in writing to

Sher Sing at Multan, and to his other son Gulab Sing at Lahore, telling them to prepare for action, and requiring the latter to come to his aid with troops. But for the moment the progress of the Hazara outbreak was arrested by the firm and energetic measures taken by Major George Lawrence and his assistants at Peshawar. The fort at Attock was occupied by Nicholson and entrusted to Herbert; and Chattar Sing, having only a small force of 2000 regular troops, 1000 levies, and eight guns, was obliged to wait for reinforcements. Rumours of Afghan intervention were revived, and in this crisis the maintenance of the authority of the Sikh Government on the north-western frontier of India depended upon one man, George Lawrence, whose wife bravely remained by his side in order to keep up the confidence of his supporters. Lawrence's position was critical in the extreme, for with only a few levies he was now face to face with the rebellious troops of the Darbar he served, and with the prospect of an Afghan invasion.

Even after the defection of Sher Sing, events occurred which reminded the Sikhs that they would have to deal with resolute men. John Lawrence had repressed with characteristic vigour a disturbance fomented by Ram Sing on the Kangra frontier, and garrisons were thrown into the forts of Kangra and Nurpur. The Maharani had boasted, as she was being escorted on her way to Benares, that she "rejoiced to hear the wheels of her carriage crunching the bones of the European soldiers who had fallen in 1846." But her satisfaction was discounted by the recollection of the issue of that campaign, and until Sher Sing was able to achieve some marked success, the country, although seething with excitement and rebellion, was disposed

to watch the course of events. At last, however, the signal came. On the 23rd of October the troops at Peshawar mutinied, and George Lawrence and his wife, with Thompson of the medical department and his wife, and Lieutenant Bowie, barely escaped with the clothes on their back. Seeing no hope of reaching Attock, they fled towards Kohat, where an asylum was offered to them by the Barakzai chief, Sultan Mahomed Khan, whom Henry Lawrence had befriended in his troubles with the Sikh Government.

George Lawrence concluded his report of these events with the modest "trust that it will be considered that I held my position as long as was practicable, and that in proceeding to Kohat I have adopted the plan most expedient and least likely to embarrass the Government." The sordid sequel is soon told. On the 3rd of November Chattar Sing took Peshawar, and called upon the Afghan chief to deliver up his prisoners. Sultan Mahomed Khan and Pir Mahomed Khan were given the government of the province, and they lost no time in invoking the assistance of the Amir Dost Mahomed. As for their prisoners, they covered their perfidy by a thin cloak of hesitation, and then surrendered them to Chattar Sing, in whose camp the British officers and their wives were placed under strict guard waiting the issue of the appeal to arms which they knew to be inevitable.

Here the narrative of events may be brought to a close, and it only remains to offer a few remarks upon the vexed question, whether Lord Dalhousie erred in delaying military operations until November. The critics must first be heard, and then the Governor-General shall answer for himself. Sir Edwin Arnold writes :—

The responsibility of a decision which Lord Dalhousie accepted rests also upon him; but this slackness of judgment is the first and last of a statesman new to his rule, and loth to surrender its peaceful purpose for the recognition and preparations of war. A civilian, not a soldier, the Viceroy's unused ear mistook the language of the cannon firing on the Idgarh; but to the General who fought in the first Sikh war they should surely have spoken general rebellion. Indian critics, weighing the policy of the Commander-in-Chief, cannot well be answered while they accuse it here of bidding murder go free in Hindustan because the sun was hot, and thereby renouncing English supremacy for half the sultry months of the eastern year.

The able author of the *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Mr. Bosworth Smith, is even more severe:—

Now then, if ever, was the time for prompt and energetic action. It was an occasion to put to the test the knowledge of the native character and the fibre of each man who was in authority. What Lord Hardinge and Henry Lawrence would have done under such circumstances is clear enough. . . . How John Lawrence would have acted is put beyond the reach of doubt by the letters which I have before me.

He then proceeds to show that all the letters which passed “ended in their doing nothing at all.” And the reason was this—“The Governor-General was new to India. He was only thirty-six years of age, and naturally enough in this, the first burning question that had come before him, he was disposed to trust to the counsels of others rather than to his own keen intelligence and masterful will.” Then dealing with the argument of heat, Bosworth Smith writes:—

As regards the heat, if the English had been unequal to anything but fair-weather campaigns in India, they would never have

conquered India at all. Seringapatam had been stormed on the May 4th, in the very height, that is, of the hot season; and as John Lawrence thought of it, he must have recalled with a thrill of satisfaction that the storming party had been led by his gallant old father, who had been left lying for hours on the breach in the fiery glare of the sun, and yet had weathered the storm. Aligarh had been taken, and the battle of Assaye fought in September, a more unhealthy season.

Lord Dalhousie never for a moment refused to accept the fullest responsibility for the decision to postpone operations until the cold weather. The language used by the writer just quoted almost suggests the idea that he allowed his better judgment to be overruled, and threw upon Lord Gough a responsibility which he should have taken upon himself. This is what he wrote to Hobhouse on the 2nd of June, 1848:—

I am well aware that there will, in all probability, be many who will say that all this embarrassment might have been avoided, that all this risk might have been saved, if the Government had only acted with promptitude and energy, if they had only moved down British troops upon Multan at once, for then the murderers would have been instantly punished, the rebel chief and his town and fort taken, and the insurrection stopped at the outset.

This is all perfectly true; this is what ought to have been done, if only it could have been done; but it could *not* be done. Prompt military measures ought at once to have been taken, if they could have been taken; but the Commander-in-Chief, having been fully made aware of the great political importance of action, gave it as his opinion that operations against Multan at that season of the year were inexpedient, if not altogether impracticable. I will not allow the responsibility to rest altogether upon him or the Resident. I accept it for myself, and avow that I approve of their decision as a prudent decision, the best of the bad alternatives they had to choose.

Proceeding then with his argument, he wrote :—

It must be borne in mind that the event occurred towards the end of April. No force capable of executing the military operations which would have been necessary, could have been brought into the field with a reasonable probability of effecting its object before the rains and inundations commenced. If it had not done so, it must have retired, and the effect of such retirement and apparent failure would have been a hundredfold more disastrous to the British power than any which temporary quiescence can produce.

The simple issue is, could military operations have been carried on successfully against Multan, or could they not? It is said a strong force should at once have been moved off from Lahore and from Firozpur as soon as ever the intelligence was received. Sir Frederick Currie must have been a madman if he had detached any such force from Lahore as would have materially weakened that position at a time when the Sardars had just announced to him that the Sikh army was not to be trusted, and that they did not dare to move them against the rebel, because they believed their soldiers would forthwith join in the rebellion.

Lord Dalhousie in the course of the correspondence set forth four main reasons in support of his plea of impossibility, namely, the near advent of the rainy or inundation season, the excessive heat, the want of transport, and the uncertainty as to the extent of the crisis. In dealing with the effect of the rainy season, he anticipated such criticisms as have just been cited by opposing to them chapter and verse from the opinions of military experts. "Sir David Ochterlony objected to delay in a particular case, and added, 'in my youth we kept the field for three years against Hyderabad, knowing no repose but in the rains, when the country was equally impassable to the enemy and to us.'" Referring to Lord Lake's letter to Lord Wellesley, dated the 12th of May, 1804, he quoted :—"In fact, an army in this

country cannot act in the rainy season"; and he invited reference to a further letter of the 28th of May, 1804. Then he proceeded:—

Whatever is true of the heats and inundations in Hindustan of which Lord Lake was writing, is true in a tenfold greater degree of the heats and inundations at Multan, and as I do not presume to count on any such special interference of Providence in our favour against the Diwan Mulraj, I once again repeat my concurrence in the resolution of the Commander-in-Chief and the Resident. . . . May is the hottest month in the year. Multan surely the hottest place upon earth. The rivers of the Punjab become miles in breadth during the rains, which commence early in June. Multan at that time is said to be surrounded for nearly two miles by inundations.

As regards the heat, the Governor-General not only quoted military opinion as to the devastating effect upon Europeans of an advance in May when there was no overwhelming necessity, but in his letter dated the 7th of September he also appealed to actual and recent experiences:—

The newspapers allege want of precaution in the Queen's 32nd and 14th. This is not so; I have seen the reports. Those two regiments in two days lost 39 between them by apoplexy.¹ The wing of the 14th Light Dragoons lost 2 sergeants and 14 men by apoplexy, and have 80 in hospital as the consequence of their march from Ferozpur to Lahore. Such losses were not to be lightly incurred at a time when the European force in India was reduced by Lord Hardinge's measures to a mere handful, the leaven of the native troops; at a time, too, when the appeal of the Sikhs was addressed to the religious prejudices of the people, and the Mahomedans were joining in the cry of war for the faith and for the expulsion of the Christian foreigners.

¹ Mr. Bosworth Smith was clearly misinformed when he chose Seringapatam and Assaye as instances of disregard of the hot weather. At no period of the year is the heat in Mysore or in the Dekkan to be compared with that which prevails for months at Multan.

But a more serious obstacle to prompt action than even the inundations and the heat of the season lay in the absence of preparation for large military operations. On the 30th of April Lord Gough wrote plainly to the Governor-General :—

In consequence of furlough granted, a very considerable time would elapse before I could assemble 10,000 men of all arms on this side of the Satlaj. There is no carriage whatever, the whole having been discharged. To move without camp equipage, doolies, and ample commissariat at this season of the year would be certain annihilation.

The arm-chair critics, to whom everything is possible, would do well to ponder these words, and probably few of them would be bold enough to question Lord Gough's estimate of the number of troops necessary for the undertaking. Multan was not "the place of no strength" that John Lawrence described it, for on its siege 35,800 shot and shell were eventually expended. Again, despite Edwardes's brave words that all he required on the 22nd of June were "a few heavy guns, a mortar battery, sappers and miners, and Major Napier to plan our operations," fate ruled that Major Napier should have to advise the raising of the siege on the 9th of September. Moreover, when the enemy were weakened by the departure of Sher Sing from Multan, Brigadier Cheape wrote as follows on the 10th of December :—

I have been round Multan, and the fort is a very strong place with great command, height of terreplein being at least 75 feet above the glacis. The fort is certainly a place of great strength, and will, if defended, require all our means both here and that is coming, and we cannot risk such a loss of men as we should probably sustain by alone attacking the city.

Finally, over all these obstacles of heat, inundation, the enemy's strength at Multan, and our want of military preparation, there floated an uncertainty as to the extent of disaffection to be encountered. Lord Dalhousie correctly gauged the political situation. Any spark would explode the powder lying about on all sides of him. "I have fretted," he wrote on the 1st of July to Fox Maule, "over this forced inactivity grievously. I know well that to the public at home abstinence from action will seem to be want of vigour." But there was no other course, and his mind had weighed all the arguments and come to a conclusion. In his letter dated the 11th of May, 1848, to Sir John Hobhouse, he set forth the facts of the case with the opinions he had received, and presented the problem as a choice of evils. He never for a moment sheltered himself behind the Commander-in-Chief. "I desire now frankly to accept the responsibility which belongs to my position; and to say that I entirely approve of the determination not to move the British army on Multan in the month of May, and with extended operations in prospect." Then he summed up:—"We have before us two great evils. Delay giving temporary immunity to a rebel was one evil. Action involving frightful loss of life, and the possible failure for a time of our enterprise was another evil. I am satisfied we have chosen the lesser of two evils in resolving to delay and bide our time."

Here we must leave this controversy to the reader's judgment. On two points there is no room for difference of opinion. Lord Dalhousie had in the end to face "extended operations," and he achieved success. In the second place, there was no "slackness of judgment," no "trusting to others rather than to his own

keen intelligence." The Governor-General resolutely rejected the counsels of those who advised him to strike before his army was ready. If he erred, he erred with his eyes open, and after the most deliberate exercise of his judgment and penetration.

CHAPTER VI

THE SECOND SIKH WAR

Position of the two armies at opening of war—Conflicting views as to the operations—The first engagement at Ramnagar—Lord Dalhousie places restrictions on Lord Gough—Explains his reasons to Duke of Wellington—Affair of Sadulapur—Governor-General's views expressed to the Duke—Restrictions withdrawn and reasons explained—Herbert escapes from Attock—Capture of Multan—Appointment of Mackeson at Gough's request—The army and people in high spirits—Dearly-bought victory of Chilianwalla—Duke of Wellington's view of the details—The Sikh view of the battle—Lord Dalhousie's intentions and actions—Henry Lawrence's draft proclamation disallowed—Correspondence with Henry Lawrence—Terms of proclamation issued—Comments upon Lord Dalhousie's severity—Sikh attempt to force an engagement upon Gough after the union of Chattar Sing's forces with those of Sher Sing—Movement of the two armies towards Gujarat—The crowning mercy of Gujarat—Negotiations for the recovery of George Lawrence and other prisoners—General Gilbert's pursuit of the Sikhs, and surrender of their whole army—The Duke's letter superseding Lord Gough—Lord Dalhousie's views upon the supersession—Grant of batta and medals to the troops—Thanks of Parliament—Rewards for Lord Dalhousie and Lord Gough—Letter from Her Majesty to Lord Dalhousie—The Koh-i-Nur diamond confiscated and presented to the Queen.

148-1849. WHEN the game of war opened in November, the position of the pieces on the board was this. The British Commander-in-Chief had under his orders an army of 17,000 infantry and 4000 cavalry, with 60 guns. Of this total, some 7500 men were engaged in

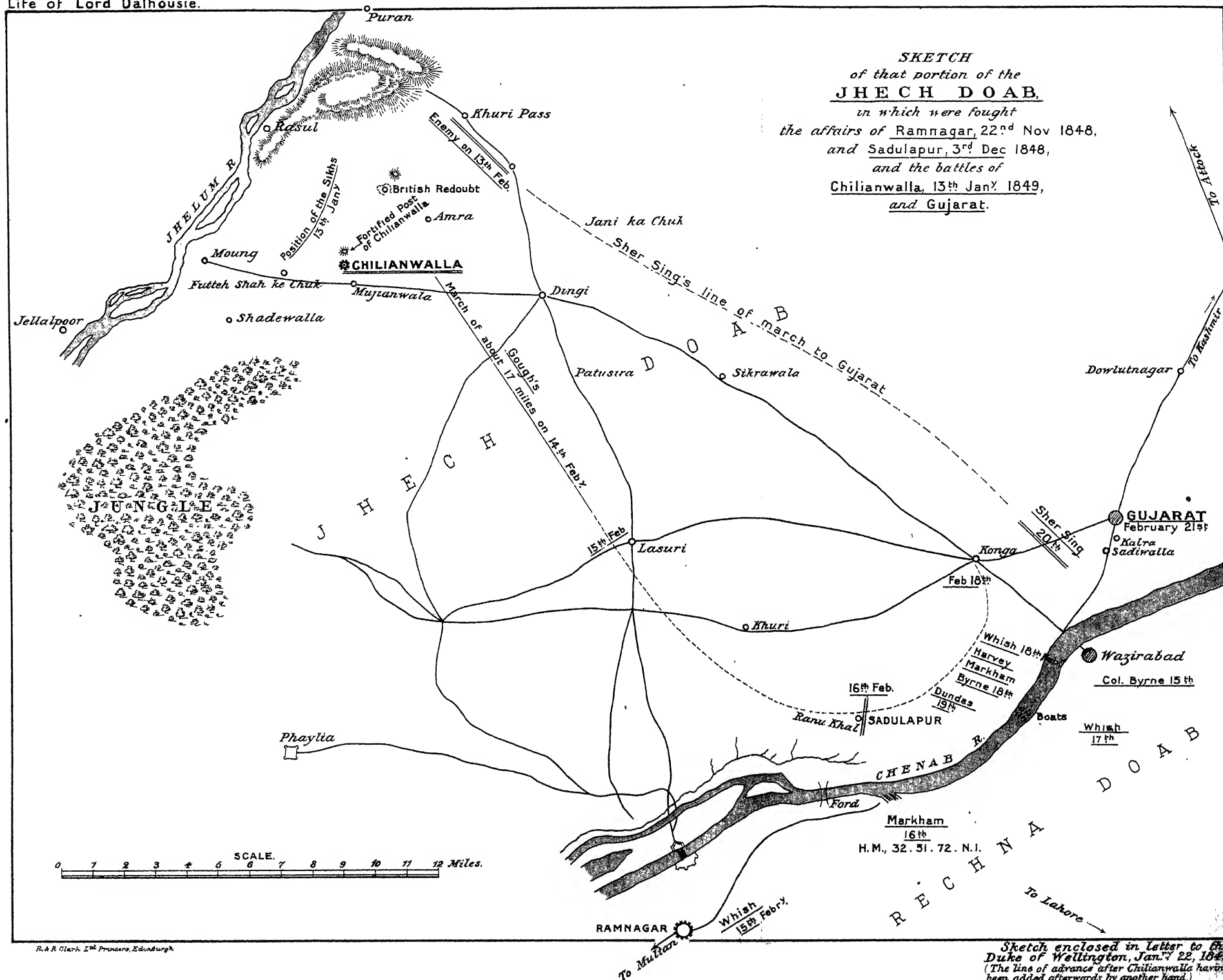


*Lt. Gen. Lord Viscount Gough, G.C.B.,
after the painting by James Dickinson*

operations before Multan ; but it was hoped that General Whish would soon reduce that fortress and then effect a junction with the main force in the north. Meanwhile Sher Sing, partly in consequence of quarrels between Sikhs and Pathans inside Multan, and partly in the hope of capturing Lahore, had marched towards Gujarat, in the Jhech Doab, where he expected to unite his forces with those of his father, Sardar Chattar Sing. Chattar Sing, however, was awaiting the arrival of the Sikh troops who had mutinied in Bannu, and was hampered by the bold move which had placed the fort at Attock in Herbert's hands. Even after the expulsion of the British officials from Peshawar and the arrival of the Afghans, he was delayed by various causes, and actually did not join Sher Sing until the 16th of January. The Governor-General, who was on the Ganges, had on the 4th of November sent orders from Ghazipur to the Resident requiring him to act in concert with the Commander-in-Chief "for the purposes of carrying into execution, with all practical speed, such measures as may tend to accomplish the object in view, and to secure the safety of the British officers on detached duty throughout the Punjab, whose position is regarded by his Lordship with deep and constant anxiety." Lord Gough was thus relieved of any danger lest Currie should fritter away the forces at the disposal of the Resident in petty operations, and he himself reached Firozpur on the 6th of November, in time to learn that six Sikh infantry regiments, besides cavalry and thirty guns, had thrown off their allegiance to George Lawrence and joined the enemy. Thus, as Lord Dalhousie had expected, Multan was not the only centre of hostilities. Three bodies of the insurgents must be watched and dealt with ; those who,

although besieged at Multan, were containing a large British force, which was not reinforced by the Bombay column until the month of December; secondly, the army of Sher Sing which was threatening Lahore; and thirdly, the troops under Chattar Sing at Peshawar, which were gathering up Afghans and Sikhs before moving on to join the 26,000 men at the disposal of Sher Sing. The military operations, complicated already by the existence of these various forces, were soon to be still more embarrassed by the unexpected delay in the fall of Multan, and by other events which will presently be narrated.

It is impossible to tell the story of the war, as Lord Dalhousie told it to the authorities at home, without awakening the echoes of angry controversy. Yet unless the facts are stated as the Governor-General read and interpreted them, his conduct will be misunderstood, and the most important pages in his biography would have to be omitted. He told Lord Gough, in his letter of the 19th of February, 1849, with absolute sincerity, that the unanimous voice of his countrymen pronounced him "to be brave among the brave," and he told the Duke of Wellington, with an honest regard to his public duties, in a letter dated the 22nd of January, 1849, describing the battle of Chilianwalla, that "the conduct of this action is beneath the criticism even of a Militiaman like myself." These two quotations evidence alike his warm admiration for the courage, and his more than doubtful trust in the generalship, of his military colleague. They explain the strong steps which he took at one time to hold back, and at another to urge forward the Commander-in-Chief. The same views were repeated more than once, and the duty of his biographer is to place before the reader what the



Governor-General wrote, how, and why he acted. Nevertheless it is only fair to others to state the outline of the defence which the friends of Gough made on his behalf. They blamed Lord Dalhousie for his refusal to give at once the force of 24,000 men which the Commander-in-Chief asked for in May, 1848. According to them, the civil government was responsible for the want of transport, supplies, and other requisites felt in November. Stress is laid upon the official restrictions placed upon Gough's movements by the letter written on the 27th of November, 1848, and it has been asserted that the "mistake" was admitted by Lord Dalhousie himself on the 7th of January, 1849, when those restrictions were withdrawn. The advice given to the Commander-in-Chief by Mackeson, agent to the Governor-General, was, it is said, injudicious and embarrassing. As to the four actions, it is argued that Ramnagar, fought on the 22nd of November, was a successful reconnaissance; that the passage of the Chenab, otherwise known as the affair of Sadulapur, fought on the 3rd of December, 1848, was a victory worthy of a royal salute; that Chilianwalla shook the confidence of the Sikh army on the 13th of January, 1849, and prepared the way for the crushing defeat of the enemy at Gujarat on the 21st of February, 1849. The advice tendered by the Governor-General to Gough, urging him to await the arrival of the troops from Multan, is condemned as not needed, and his counsel to use guns, before bayonets were resorted to, as uncalled for.

With this preface, the history of the war will be told, as far as possible, in the words of the Governor-General. The first move of importance was made by Brigadier-General Cureton who, on the 2nd of November, crossed

the Ravi with his horse artillery, Her Majesty's 3rd and 14th Light Dragoons, the 5th and 8th Light Cavalry, and the 12th Irregulars, and encamped at Wazirabad. On the 16th of November Gough crossed the same river,¹ "notwithstanding the remonstrances and representations of the Commissariat as to the incompleteness of their preparations. The statements of the political officers as to the abundance of supplies were in no respect realised. Sher Sing had already got much. Our own arrangements were, as I have said, still incomplete." On the 20th he arrived at Nerwala, about twelve miles from the Chenab, Sher Sing being then at Ramnagar, a walled town situated in an open plain covered with low scrub jungle up to the banks of that river, a distance of about three miles. No attempt was made to reconnoitre the ground in the neighbourhood of the river, but at 3 A.M. on the 22nd General Campbell's infantry brigade and the cavalry division under General Cureton were despatched to force the rebels over the river. Sher Sing withdrew his detachments from the left to the right bank of the Chenab, where he had placed his twenty-eight guns in position on the high ground overhanging the river. Some small bodies of the Sikhs, still holding the ground near Ramnagar, were driven by the cavalry and artillery across the ford, and in their hot pursuit the British guns were dragged through the deep and heavy sand up to the river bank, where they came under the withering and unexpected fire of the Sikh batteries. One gun stuck in the sand and had to be left. Some 4000 of the Sikh cavalry, observing this accident, crossed the river under cover of their artillery, but were charged with great gallantry and suffered heavy loss at the hands of the 3rd and 14th Light Dragoons, and the

¹ Letter to Sir John Hobhouse, dated the 7th of December, 1848.

5th and 8th regiments of Light Cavalry. General Cureton was killed while leading a squadron of the 14th, together with Colonel Havelock, who had previously, in command of the same regiment, made a vain attempt to recover the abandoned gun. The useless sacrifice of life entailed in this affair is thus described by Lord Dalhousie in a letter to the Duke of Wellington, dated the 7th of December, 1848 :—

The Commander-in-Chief crossed the Ravi at Lahore on the 16th November and moved towards Ramnagar, in support of Cureton and Campbell, with the intention of pushing Raja Sher Sing out of the Rechna Doab, but in the hope also that the Raja would stand and fight before he went.

On the 22nd he had a large force near Ramnagar, which, on that morning, he occupied. Afterwards there was an affair between his cavalry with horse artillery and large bodies of the enemy, who had crossed over to this side, and remained there, but under cover of the Raja's guns, which were in strong position on the right bank of the river. Some blame the Commander-in-Chief, some blame Campbell and Cureton ; but, whoever was to blame, the result was very unfortunate. Both cavalry and artillery behaved admirably, and charged brilliantly ; but they did it in unknown ground, and under the enemy's guns, and we suffered severely. Poor Cureton himself was shot through the heart, an irreparable loss at the present moment. Lieutenant-Colonel Havelock was killed (14th Light Dragoons), and five or six officers severely wounded. Moreover, we lost a horse artillery gun, which rolled over a bank and stuck there in the deep sand.

The Commander-in-Chief remained quiet for some days, waiting for his heavy guns. The position of the enemy was very strong ; he was in great force ; had about thirty guns ; they were on the high bank of the river, and the river itself is wide and bad.

Such was the first engagement fought by the army organised with so much deliberation, and it must be admitted that the result was not encouraging to the British cause. One consequence of it is not open to

doubt; it emboldened Sher Sing to address the Resident, on the 24th of November, from Ramnagar, in a letter setting forth in full detail "points urged by Raja Sher Sing and the Sardars of his camp," and expressing the hope that he would come to a decision "which may extinguish the torch of dissension which is now lighted, and make arrangements to secure the stability of the Maharaja's kingdom, and redound to the credit of the British Government." The Sikh army thus declared itself as fighting the cause of the infant Maharaja against the British, who ostensibly were acting on the same behalf.

Having driven the enemy across the Chenab and out of the Rechna Doab, the Commander-in-Chief might now have paused, content to cover Lahore and to await the fall of Multan, which would set free the forces there engaged. He was not in the least ready for offensive action. The feeling of the country was such that he could get neither supplies nor intelligence; his communications with Lahore were being constantly cut by roving bands of marauders; while behind that city the Jullunder Doab was simmering with insurrection. Moreover, Lahore was left with the insufficient garrison of one European and four native infantry regiments. As Lord Dalhousie described the situation, "He had no reserve whatever. Between the Ravi and the Satlaj there was not a British soldier except the garrison in Govindghar. At Firozpur there were three native infantry regiments, instead of six, one European cavalry, and two native cavalry, as usual." Ludhiana and Amballa were equally denuded. At the same time the news which reached the Governor-General from Multan and from the direction of Peshawar was most discouraging, and accordingly he determined to intervene and to

place restrictions upon the further advance of Gough. His letter gave dire offence to the Commander-in-Chief, and its terms have frequently been misstated. It is therefore necessary to quote the instructions issued. For, while a free hand was given to the Commander-in-Chief to attack Sher Sing in his position, if this could be done with a prospect of success adequate to the risk to be taken, the restriction placed upon him had reference merely to an *immediate* further advance beyond the Chenab; and even this advance was contemplated as contingent upon events, though the Governor-General did not wish it to be made without his special permission. The letter, dated the 27th of November, referred to the action at Ramnagar as unproductive of any advantage whatever, and dwelt upon the suspension of the siege at Multan, the position of affairs at Peshawar, and the insufficiency of supplies, for which no blame was imputed to the Commander-in-Chief. Stress was laid on the avoidance of any measures which would involve the risk of our supplies being endangered or our communications interrupted, and then followed these injunctions:—

If it should appear to your Excellency that the condition of your army, in all respects, is such as to enable you to attack Raja Sher Sing in his position with the certainty of complete success, and without calamitous loss, the destruction of his force would be of great importance; but I have to convey to you my request that on no consideration should your Excellency advance with your army into the Doab beyond the Chenab, except for the purpose of attacking Sher Sing in his present position, without further communication with me and my consent obtained. The arrival of reinforcements at Multan, and the surrender of that fortress, will shortly place such an additional force at our disposal as will admit of the army advancing without exposing our present position to the imminent risk in which it would otherwise be placed.

Writing to the Duke of Wellington on the 7th of

December, 1848, Lord Dalhousie justified his action in the following words :—

The Commander-in-Chief insisted on advancing his whole army from Ferozpur before his commissariat arrangements were completed. The supplies promised across the Ravi failed him, he had his whole force with him, and the troops necessary to enable him to make his communications safe were not at his command ; for a very large force is still at Multan, and many regiments have not yet come up from the Provinces. The inhabitants of the country on this side of the Punjab are inveterately hostile, and all warlike. The provinces lately ceded to us cannot yet be safely trusted, and Maharaja Gulab Sing ought not to be trusted, and will not be trusted by me for one minute. Yet I was informed that the Commander-in-Chief was determined to push on at all hazards, and that even already “his position was critical,” a fact which he has since admitted to me. I wrote to him immediately by express, stated these facts, reminded him of the vast reduction which had been made on the army, and set before him the danger of even the appearance of a reverse at such a time as this. On these grounds I peremptorily ordered him not to advance beyond the Chenab, excepting to attack Sher Sing, until the arrival of reinforcements from Sind and the fall of Multan should enable him to advance with safety and certainty of success.

The press and the public of this country upbraid the Government with what they term inactivity, and reproach me for not sending a brigade to Attock, which, say they, would have prevented the defection of troops at Peshawar, for not sending “just 5000 men” here, and “just 4000” there.

I have steadily refused to do so. Nobody desires to save Attock and to avoid a war more than I. Nobody prizes the lives of these detached officers more than I. But I will not expose a brigade to being overwhelmed in an enemy’s country, devoid of all support ; and, however valuable are the lives of individuals, I will not, in order to rescue them, put the interests of the State in jeopardy, as I should do if I were to permit small bodies of troops to be moved to isolated positions, when I cannot provide them securely either with supplies or support.

The enemy is a formidable enemy, warlike in character. The whole army except two regiments has risen against us. The Sikh

population, lately disciplined soldiers and dismissed, are united to them. It is not true that he has been deprived of all his guns. He has ninety-nine pieces of artillery on his official return, besides those on forts, and plenty more will be dug up when there is occasion for them. Our own army has been enormously reduced, especially in European troops.

Under these circumstances, I will not risk a reverse by permitting the army to move until it is of a strength and in a condition to do so, leaving everything safe behind it, and sure of being able to beat everything in front of it. We know the work in the Punjab now. Everybody has risen that can rise, and a short delay can produce no additional enemies. As soon as Multan falls, at least 10,000 men more will be available, and they shall move when they like.

I hope and believe that you will think me right in this determination. I have no fear of ultimate and complete success, if we go sensibly to work, but we have nothing to spare.

Lord Gough quite understood the situation in which he was placed by the official letter from the Governor-General, dated the 27th of November, and acting upon the authority left to him of attacking Sher Sing "in his present position" he decided to lose no time in doing so, though the enemy numbered, according to his own account, nearly 40,000 men, with twenty-eight guns. His plans were not badly conceived. They might, indeed, have succeeded had he only taken the precaution of examining the ground and given sufficient discretion to his generals. He wisely determined to send a force across the river higher up, so as to take Sher Sing in flank, while he himself plied the main force of the Sikhs with his guns, intending to advance against it when the flank movement had been developed. As, however, we shall now see, his plans miscarried, and his second engagement, known as the battle of Sadulapur, was in the eyes of the Governor-General only a "blundered concern."

On the 30th of November General Sir Joseph

Thackwell was detached with three troops of horse artillery, two field batteries, one brigade of cavalry, and three brigades of infantry, without tents and with provisions for three days only, to cross the Chenab by the ford at Ranikan. This ford proved impracticable, and Thackwell therefore moved further on, twenty-two miles up the river, to another near Wazirabad, where John Nicholson had cleverly secured sixteen boats, which enabled the force to effect a passage. One brigade attempted to wade through the stream and spent the night shivering on a sandbank, thereby delaying the remainder and giving Sher Sing notice of their intentions. On receiving information of the passage, Lord Gough at once directed General Godby to take another brigade across the Chenab by a ford six miles from Ramnagar. At the same time he sent orders to Thackwell to defer his attack on the Sikhs until Godby should reinforce him. Thackwell accordingly halted on the 3rd of December at Sadulapur, not even taking possession of three villages that lay in his front. Sher Sing quickly seized his opportunity and sent a force against him, while the main army under Lord Gough made no movement in support of the detached column except to fire its guns upon the supposed camp of the Sikhs across the river. Thackwell's troops, thus left to themselves and tied by their orders, endured for several hours a vigorous cannonade from the Sikhs without even replying to it. Emboldened by this apparent hesitation, the Sikh cavalry attempted to turn the flanks of the British, and then only did Thackwell make use of his 7000 men, and with terrible effect. In an hour his guns silenced the enemy's artillery, and the attacks upon his flanks were repulsed with great loss to the Sikhs. And now once more when his assailants were flying in the

utmost confusion, Thackwell refused to listen to his officers, who begged him to advance. "The exhausted state both of man and horse," and the orders which he had received to await Godby's reinforcements, were his explanations for inaction.

Meanwhile the Commander-in-Chief, instead of crossing the river, as he had originally planned, was busily engaged in throwing up earthworks and defences on his own side of the Chenab, to be used against a foe who quietly withdrew in the night, "without leaving a goat," and General Gilbert's pursuit on the morrow was the pursuit of a shadow. Lord Gough, however, sat down to write his despatch, and congratulated the Governor-General on "events so fraught with importance, which will with God's blessing tend to most momentous results." He wished that a royal salute should be fired, but Lord Dalhousie would have none of it, and in his letter to the Duke of Wellington, dated the 22nd of December, 1848, he thus expressed himself :—

When I last wrote to you, on 7th instant, I had just received an express announcing to me the passage of the Chenab. The full accounts subsequently received do not alter materially the description then given.

It appears that Raja Sher Sing, with a large force of men and guns, moved out to meet General Thackwell, leaving men in his entrenchments and keeping his batteries going; nor was the Commander-in-Chief able to silence them with his heavy guns within 600 yards of them.

About 2 p.m. on 3rd instant Sher Sing opened a fire on General Thackwell far off. The General took no notice till the Sikhs, emboldened by his silence, came nearer. Our guns then opened, and in an hour completely silenced the Sikh artillery, which is their strongest arm. During this time the enemy attempted to turn both the flanks of our force simultaneously. He was immediately beaten back, and, having suffered great loss, he began to retire, and shortly fled in confusion.

Whether from over-prudence or too strict interpretation of the Commander-in-Chief's orders, General Thackwell refused to advance. All accounts agree that everybody was eager to advance, that his officers urged him to do so, and that if he had done so every gun must have fallen into our power. However, General Thackwell refused to advance until next morning. Of course, next morning not a man was left, nor a gun, for they actually returned when they found they were not pursued and carried away the guns they had left. Next morning the cavalry pursued, but never came up to them.

The Commander-in-Chief is vexed and angry with me because I would not fire a royal salute for this. I told him frankly I could not call this a victory. The turning of the position and crossing the Chenab with almost no loss was an important step gained, but it was not to be called a victory for which one would fire a royal salute. The Commander-in-Chief says the enemy lost eight guns: very likely they did lose them, *but we have not found them*, nor yet our own gun which they seized on 22nd November.

The position they had taken up was found to be very strongly entrenched—the forts were breast high, and a direct attack would have cost us very dear, if it had even been successful.

The enemy has now taken up another position on *this* bank of Jhelum River. I enclose a rough sketch of it. The wood marked is tree jungle about eight miles wide—the two paths are only wide enough for three files abreast, and their entrenched camp completely commands the points where the paths reach the plain. It is an ugly place. The enemy has been joined by a large portion of Chattar Sing's force, and they are said now to have about 60 guns and a very large numerical force of one kind or another.

If they can be turned, or if they will come out, it will be all right; for they cannot stand one hour before us in the plain. But if they stay where they are, they will give us trouble.

Chattar Sing has gone again to Peshawar; it is said to meet Dost Mahomed Khan, from whom he hopes to get aid. We have no accurate information as to the Dost, and I do not believe that he is at Peshawar. The Maharaja Gulab Sing is still behaving apparently well; but I repeat what I said before, that I will not trust him for half a minute.

In my last letter I mentioned to you that I had seen it

necessary on arriving at Amballa and finding what the state of affairs with the army was, to send instructions to the Commander-in-Chief assenting to his crossing the Chenab and destroying Sher Sing's army, but positively prohibiting him from advancing further westwards without further communication with me.

I perceive from his letters to me and to others that his Excellency is very angry with me for placing this restriction upon him. In my last letter I mentioned the considerations which induced me so to restrict him.

After reverting to the considerations mentioned, namely, the state of the country, the supplies of the army, and the want of reserves, and after mentioning that when the 18th Royal Irish should have arrived there would be between Amballa and Calcutta, about 1100 miles, only two regiments of Europeans, Lord Dalhousie continued :—

I am no alarmist, and I am not a bit afraid, and have no doubt whatever of our accomplishing complete success ; but I think, my dear Lord Duke, that you, who know India, will confirm my words when I say that this is not a state of things in which anything should be unnecessarily risked. I feel very sure that as a short delay cannot make matters substantially worse than they are, while the same delay will give me the use of the greater part of 15,000 men from Multan, you will approve of my refusing to assent to a great risk in the interval. And I am confident that you will not think the worse of the prudence and real policy of my conduct, if I play the sure game, and refuse to risk so great a stake as ours is on a single throw. Since the date of that letter circumstances have begun to change.

The halt at Ramnagar has enabled the Commissariat to complete their arrangements, and large supplies are now coming from the rear ; while Brigadier Wheeler has dispersed the bands of irregular troops who were cutting in on our communications, and has blown up several of their forts. The action and the passage of the Chenab has given us all the Rechna Doab and much of the resources of the Jhech Doab, and local supplies are far more plentiful. Mr. Lawrence has at once put down the risings in the Jullunder, and I

have the actors in prison. Brigadier Wheeler is back to his district, and I do not much care when Gulab Sing comes. Regiments are arriving for the reserves, and my own escort makes two more available. And, lastly, the Bombay troops were expected at Multan by to-morrow.

Accordingly, I have authorised the Commander-in-Chief to advance to attack Sher Sing on the Jhelum, if careful consideration of these various circumstances and better information as to the position shall satisfy his Excellency that he can safely undertake such an operation, and without heavy loss, which we cannot afford.

Major Lawrence, who, unfortunately, is in the Sikhs' hands, writes that they were evidently anxious to treat. They sent to sound me. I told them I would not treat with rebels in arms, and that I could listen to no proposal but unconditional surrender or submission. I have, however, proposed to exchange prisoners, and I have tried to bully them if they should harm the prisoners with them. I do not expect they will give them up at present, but I do not think they will harm them.

Mulraj's force is now greatly reduced, and, I should hope, would hardly hold out long. If it is well defended, it will be a tough job, as you will see by the enclosed memorandum by the Chief Engineer. They mean to attack now on the north side. I send also a memorandum regarding Sher Sing's new position.

This letter just quoted states some of the reasons which induced Lord Dalhousie, under the altered circumstances, to modify the restrictions imposed by his official letter of the 27th of November. His letter, addressed to Lord Gough on the 17th of December, 1848, gives no warrant for the assertion that the Governor-General admitted "the mistake" made in his earlier orders. On the contrary, he wrote with dignity and firmness to justify both the orders originally given and his proposal to modify them :—

Your Excellency is responsible for the army ; I am responsible for the Empire ; and it is on my head if everything is not done or forbidden which the general interest of that vast charge requires.

I need not repeat the grounds on which I rested my injunction to your Lordship not to advance. They are very fully set forth in my letter of the 27th ultimo. The injunction was based upon certain circumstances, and in its terms required that you should not advance *without previous communication with me*. Your letter of the 11th appears to intimate that those circumstances are now changing, and that the difficulties which appeared before to forbid an advance are now being removed. If the state of your supplies, of your supports, and of your communications, on which I dwelt so strongly and which, as your Lordship has since declared, had placed you "in a critical position" is now materially different; if the intelligence you receive and the reconnaissances you may be enabled to make shall satisfy you that the enemy may be attacked with success with such force as you may have safely disposable; and finally, if you shall think that the success may be obtained without a heavy loss in officers and men (much to be deprecated at all times and which we are at present unable to afford), then I shall be happy indeed to see a blow struck which will destroy the enemy.

Upon these points the Commander-in-Chief was asked to communicate his views, and when he had done so, Lord Dalhousie wrote to him, on the 7th of January, 1849, telling him the news of the successful assault on the city of Multan and the effects of the explosion upon the citadel, and adding:—

It would give me no less pleasure to announce a similar blow struck by you on the Jhelum. I am in ignorance as to the details of the position which has been taken up by the Sikhs, and as to your own views of the means at your disposal for assaulting it, as well as of your plans. The destruction of that army, the rout of the troops, and the capture of the guns, concurrently with the fall of Multan would conclude the business in the main. I shall be heartily glad to hear of your having felt yourself in a condition to attack Sher Sing with success.

Apologists of Lord Gough's conduct of the war have referred to this letter as an admission of the wisdom of the policy which Lord Gough had pursued in spite of

the suggestions of the Governor-General. The correspondence tells its own tale. There is no sign of wavering in it. Lord Dalhousie reaffirmed the soundness of his previous orders, laid emphasis upon their precise limitations, and in the altered circumstances set the Commander-in-Chief free to act.

How the latter acted will be presently seen, but before that point is reached it is necessary to look at what was taking place at Attock and at Multan. The close of the year 1848 left Herbert still retaining with stout heart, but diminished prospects of relief, his perilous command over the fort perched upon the heights that overlooked the famous whirlpool formed by the junction of the Kabul stream with the Indus. Dost Mahomed, who had arrived at Peshawar and demanded from Chattar Sing the surrender of Lawrence and the other prisoners, lost no time in advancing upon Attock. On the 2nd of January Herbert watched the Afghans commencing the passage of the Indus, and on the fifty-fourth day of his charge of this exposed but important post he prepared a raft, and at midnight of the 3rd of January made good his escape from a garrison which he could no longer trust. Captain Abbott still held on at Hazara, where he received from the Dost an impudent letter asserting his right to the trans-Indus territories, and offering to mediate between the Sikhs and the British.

The operations at Multan, which had been delayed pending the arrival of the Bombay troops, were at length resumed on the 27th of December. On the 30th the principal magazine was exploded by a lucky shot, and on the 2nd of January, the city having been carried by assault, approaches were commenced against the fort. Then occurred another of those delays so disappointing

to the Governor-General, although they proved the soundness of his calculations. For more than two weeks fifty pieces of heavy artillery played upon the citadel, "the contemptible place as you have been told." On the 18th of January, 1849, the counterscarp was blown in, and two practicable breaches were reported in the solid hill faced by brickwork which had so long defied the combined efforts of miners and gunners. The garrison, which had suffered from the want of supplies, began to waver, and Mulraj sent emissaries offering to surrender if his own life were spared. But Whish knew the mind and the temper of the Governor-General, and replied that he had power neither to spare nor to take the Diwan's life. On the 21st all was ready for a final assault, when Mulraj promised to surrender unconditionally on the morrow. Whish thereon ordered operations to cease, while on the other hand the besieged during the night busily stockaded the breach which had been effected. Mulraj had still with him 4000 desperate men, but at 9 A.M. on the morning of the 22nd, after a drenching storm of rain and thunder, the Diwan and his Sardars, thinking better of resistance, came out and surrendered themselves. Writing to Hobhouse, Lord Dalhousie observed, "to have carried the place by assault would have sounded more brilliant, but we may be very thankful that a storm was not necessary." Heavy losses would certainly have been inevitable, and the addition of 10,000 fighting men with 100 guns, exclusive of siege artillery, was anxiously awaited by the Governor-General in the north. Orders were at once sent to Whish to hasten his movements for a junction with the forces under Lord Gough. Before, however, this was possible, the battle of Chilianwalla had been fought, and Lord

Dalhousie stood confronted by a peril of the utmost gravity.

Leaving, then, the city of Multan in ruins and the citadel awaiting the fate that overtook it after an unexpected delay, we may now return to the Commander-in-Chief and see what advantage he took of the liberty of action restored to him. After the affair of Sadulapur, Sher Sing moved towards the Jhelum and fortified a post at the village of Chilianwalla, five miles from the river. The necessary arrangements of the British army had at last been completed, thanks in a large measure to the efficient assistance of Major Mackeson, whom Lord Dalhousie had appointed as political officer under the title of "Governor-General's agent," at the request recently made by the Commander-in-Chief for his services in connection with the operations which he was conducting, especially with reference to procuring supplies and information. Gough had written to Currie on the 24th of November describing his position as "most critical," and the political officer attached to him, Mr. Cocks, as "having no resources." On the same day he addressed the Governor-General in these terms: "Your Lordship will perceive how we stand respecting supplies: the two politicals with the army are too young, Cocks and Nicholson: Major Mackeson would be invaluable." And without delay Mackeson was sent with full directions as to his conduct. He was told that he was not vested "with any authority of any sort over his Excellency," and that his responsibility ended with stating his views. "You will be under my orders only as regards the political duties I have just described," and "as regards the functions which the Commander-in-Chief wishes you to discharge for him, I need convey to you no instructions." Mackeson abundantly justified

his selection, and on the 11th of January, 1849, Gough wrote in high spirits to Lord Dalhousie: "I move to-morrow to a position a mile and a half in front of Dingi, and with God's blessing I propose to attack the enemy on the following day, with a hope I shall be enabled to give your Lordship a favourable report of the result. It is my intention to penetrate the centre of their line, cutting off the regular from the irregular portion of their army." The enemy's force he estimated at 40,000 men, with 62 guns, and his own troops, available for the attack, at 11,000 to 12,000 men, with 60 guns. His heavy guns he playfully referred to as "my politicals."

The depression which followed the lost chance at Sadulapur and the failure at Multan had now given way to a general tone of confidence, which affected alike the higher civil and military authorities and all ranks of the army. The relations between the European and the native troops were of the most cordial character. In particular, the attachment between the 14th Light Dragoons and the 5th Light Cavalry was so warm, that when Gough presented the latter with Rs. 500 in token of his approbation of their behaviour, they spent it in giving a dinner to their European comrades. In his diary Lord Dalhousie adds the following facts and comment: "Their religion forbade their partaking of it themselves, but they stood by, superintending the feast, and literally dispensing their hospitality to their guests. When such is the feeling, troops will do anything and everything." The brighter outlook was enhanced by a spirit of general contentment which was spreading through the country-side in consequence of a seasonable fall of rain after the recent famine. Since the previous July not a shower had fallen, but now with the arrival

of the Governor-General rain fell in torrents and put heart into the cultivators.

Suddenly a shadow of the deepest gloom was shot across this scene of hopefulness. The expected battle was fought on the 13th of January, 1849. It was described by Gough in his letter to Lord Dalhousie as a "complete success dearly bought," and by the latter as "a very dearly bought success." The official despatch announcing it was published in the *London Gazette* of the 3rd of March, 1849, and a vivid picture of it has been drawn by Colonel Malleson. Here it is only necessary to give the summary sent by the Governor-General to the Duke of Wellington, adding that in a later letter, dated the 23rd of February, Lord Dalhousie corrected a mistake into which he had fallen, and informed the Duke that wings only of the 9th Lancers, and of the 1st and 3rd Light Cavalry, together with the 14th Light Dragoons, had given way and behaved in the manner he here reports. He also added that General Pope gave no order for retirement.

The letter addressed to the Duke on the 22nd of January, 1849, was as follows:—

The army with the Commander-in-Chief fought a severe action on the 13th instant, which ended in our driving the Sikh army, under Raja Sher Sing, from their position, with great loss of men, and with the loss of 12 guns captured and many more spiked. It has been, however, a very dearly bought success, and the results are by no means commensurate with the loss we have sustained.

I enclose to you a copy of his Excellency's despatch, which makes the best of affairs.

The facts are as follows:—

On the 13th the Commander-in-Chief moved from Dingi towards the enemy. After some ten miles march, he came on the advanced pickets at 11½ A.M., and drove them in. From a mound

on which they had been placed, the Commander-in-Chief saw the enemy, who had come out of his entrenchments and was formed in an extended line in and on the edge of a jungle which extended from his line to where the Commander-in-Chief was. The enemy's left rested on a low range of hills full of ravines, his right (distant six or seven miles from his left) rested on very thick jungle; he was in very great force, by all accounts nearer 40,000 than 30,000, and with 63 guns.

The Commander-in-Chief had resolved not to attack that day, but to make reconnaissances in force, and attack early on the morrow.

Orders were issued accordingly, when, on the enemy moving forward some guns and opening a fire, he changed his mind and resolved to attack.

It was represented to him that the day was now far spent, nearly 2 o'clock, that nothing was known accurately of the position, that the men had marched far, that the enemy had evidently no intention of retiring, and that if the attack were deferred till the morrow the results would be certain.

He would listen to nothing. He ordered his heavy guns to open. He had eight with him. The practice was splendid, and was silencing the enemy's batteries and committing tremendous havoc, when he ordered *the whole army to advance in line*, stopping the guns. He had no support or reserve, except two regiments Native Infantry.

They advanced, a line of three miles, *without support*, against one of more than six miles, through jungle, against an enemy whom they did not see. Each brigade lost its neighbour. Every regiment was separated from the one next to it, and fought a battle for itself. They continued to advance, the Sikhs poured grape into them terrifically, and fought with desperation. Vastly outnumbered, our regiments were overlapped, and they were fighting, literally, front, flanks, and rear at the same time. Ultimately, the whole line made good its advance, drove the Sikhs from the jungle, and compelled them to retreat in disorder, past their own entrenchments, to a position on the low hills near Rasul, leaving upwards of 30 guns which had been spiked behind them.

By this time night was approaching, the Commander-in-Chief retired to Chilianwalla from which he had advanced at 2 o'clock,

and there remained. No precautions were taken respecting the spiked guns, and of course the Sikhs carried them off in the night, leaving only 12 in our possession.

The despatch will tell you the movements. It will tell you truly the behaviour of the troops, but not *all* the truth. The cavalry on the left behaved quite well. The left brigade of General Campbell's division behaved admirably and successfully. The right brigade, including Her Majesty's 24th, advanced precipitately, carried a battery with the point of the bayonet, but were attacked, when blown, by a fresh Sikh division with guns, and dreadfully cut up and driven back. They subsequently reformed, and completed their advance. The division of General Gilbert on the right behaved excellently also, and most successfully. With respect to the cavalry on the right you will see what the Commander-in-Chief says about misapprehension of orders. I am ashamed to tell you that all the regiments of that brigade, including Her Majesty's 14th Light Dragoons and Her Majesty's 9th Lancers, advanced to meet a body of irregular horse, but did *not* meet them, went threes about and galloped to the rear as fast as they could ride. They galloped over our own artillery and upset them, they galloped on to the field hospital among the wounded, and were there stopped *by the chaplain,¹ pistol in hand*, who had been assisting the surgeons, and who swore he would shoot the first man who passed him. The Sikh horse cut up almost every man in the battery, and took three of our guns.

Ultimately, as I have said, the line advanced, and drove the Sikhs before them. Had the Commander-in-Chief acted on the advice universally given, he would have been able to follow up his success, and have driven every man of them before him, taking all their guns.

As it is, we have but twelve guns, and the credit of success. Our loss has been very heavy, especially in officers. In the 24th Regiment, 11 officers killed and 10 wounded, altogether about 650 killed, and 2300 killed and wounded, with results which, I repeat, are quite incommensurate with the loss sustained.

The conduct of this action is beneath the criticism even of a Militiaman like myself. I need therefore say nothing about it to you.

¹ The chaplain's name was W. Whiting, and his exploit did not lose force in the later editions through which the story went.

In public I make, of course, the best of things ; I treat it as a great victory. But writing confidentially to you I do not hesitate to say that I consider my position grave. I have put into the field in the Punjab a force fit to match all India. In the hands of the Commander-in-Chief I do not now *consider that force safe*, or free from the risk of disaster. There is not a man in that army from his Generals of Division to the Sepoys who does not proclaim the same thing and write it to his friends. They do not feel themselves safe in his hands, and I grieve to say that much gloom prevails in his camp.

Unhappily I cannot at present remedy this. Her Majesty's Government and the Chief of Staff have thought proper to keep Lord Gough at the head of their army, and he has gained me a victory, such as it is. I cannot take the command even practically out of his hands. If the enemy were once across the Jhelum I would not allow Headquarters to cross it, but would send on one of the Generals of Division. At present I am powerless, and only hope he may preserve his army unharmed, as he proposes to do, while waiting for the troops from Multan. I repeat that publicly I make the best of things, and that I write this only to yourself, in the confidence which you have permitted me to have with you, and to the authorities.

The account of the doubtful victory of Chilianwalla given by Lord Dalhousie has appeared to some to be exaggerated and prejudiced. It is well therefore to test it by the effect which it produced upon others. There is no doubt that the British army engaged in the battle, some 13,000 men, lost 89 British and 43 native officers, as well as more than 2200 men killed and wounded, leaving their dead on the field of battle, and losing several colours, together with six guns. The Duke of Wellington received Gough's own account of what a British historian has fitly called "the day of blunders," and after a perusal of the official reports, he wrote to the Governor-General on the 5th of March, 1849, in these terms: "I confess that, however little satisfied with the details of the affair of the 13th January, I am

delighted with the prospect of a termination! The loss in the battle is certainly severe, and the details are not satisfactory, but the loss is not half of what must have occurred if it had been necessary to take the citadel of Multan by storm after opening breaches in its walls." Three weeks later, having delivered a reassuring speech at a public dinner, the Duke wrote again: "I thought it right to hold up the successful termination of the siege of Multan as a counter-balance to the great loss sustained in the battle of the 13th January, and to say that, upon the whole, the public ought to be satisfied." As to the feeling produced in the camp, Lord Dalhousie writes in his diary: "I have received letters from my own friends; I have seen many letters from others; I have heard of very many in different quarters; but I have never seen one in which it was not stated that every brigade and every regiment fought an action for itself. They were all fighting front, flanks, and rear at the same time." He adds that Gifford repeated to him a remark made by Gough in his hearing to one of his brigadiers, which was as follows: "Indeed, I had not intended to attack to-day, but the impudent rascals fired on me. They put my Irish blood up, and I attacked them." George Lawrence, who was shortly afterwards allowed to go to Lahore on parole for eight days, gave a graphic account of the view which the Sikhs themselves took of the affair. He told the Commander-in-Chief that they did not reckon it as a British victory. "What? not a victory!" exclaimed Lord Gough, who met Lawrence in Mackeson's tent, "do you not consider it a victory to drive back the enemy, to spike 30 or 40 of his guns, and occupy the ground you had gained?" "Yes," replied Lawrence, "but they say you did not occupy

the ground you had gained, and that the guns you had taken and spiked were retaken in consequence; and that they took up a position stronger than before." At a second interview, George Lawrence told the Chief that the Sikhs wondered at the small use he had made of his superior artillery. Public opinion at home reflected the feeling of consternation which prevailed in India, and the *Times* declared that Lord Gough was playing with the lives of our soldiers. Hobhouse, writing on the 7th of March, observed: "The disaster has thrown the successes into the shade, and the impression made upon the public mind is stronger than that caused by the Kabul massacre. The result has been that, in eight-and-forty hours after the arrival of the mail, it was determined to send Sir Charles Napier to command the Indian army."

Leaving for the present the supersession of Lord Gough, and the indignation of Lord Dalhousie at that measure, we turn to the steps taken by the Governor-General to meet the crisis. The presence of danger, far from unnerving him, only braced his resolution to subjugate and to annex the Punjab. He determined to impose his will both upon the Commander-in-Chief and upon Henry Lawrence, who was showing a tendency to take a line of his own. His injunctions, addressed directly to the former, and to Mackeson for communication to his Excellency, were of the most urgent character. He laid stress upon the avoidance of a general battle "until the whole Multan force has joined you," and upon the advantage which fuller use of his artillery would give him. The tone of his communications is reflected in the following extract from a letter to Hobhouse, dated the 21st of February:—"If he disregards in his obstinacy these means again,

if he again fights an incomplete action with terrible carnage as before, you must expect to hear of my taking a strong step; he shall not remain in command of that army in the field." At the same time he provided for the contingency of operations across the Jhelum by promptly following up a suggestion which he judiciously induced Lord Gough to make, and entrusting to General Gilbert the command of any troops that might operate across that river, directing that the headquarters of the army should remain on this side of it. He also despatched to the front all the British troops he could lay hands upon. From Lahore he sent forward 600 men of Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment, replacing them by 200 Europeans from his own slender guard, and ordering up a few companies from Amballa. Five hundred British soldiers were scraped together from Madras, and British India was left practically denuded of white troops. But, as he records in his diary: "I am determined that whatever risks are run elsewhere, none shall be run in the face of the enemy." As soon as the news reached him of the surrender of Multan, an event which occurred, as already stated, on the 22nd of January, he ordered Whish to proceed northwards by forced marches. By these means he calculated that the Commander-in-Chief would have at his disposal 30,000 men, with 84 field-guns, and 22 pieces of heavy artillery. Everything therefore depended upon the avoidance of a general battle with the defiant Sikh army until these additions should arrive.

In the midst of these military preparations, Lord Dalhousie kept a cool head and did not overlook the political situation. His main object was to prevent his subordinates from making any terms with the Afghans or with the Sikhs which would hamper his own discretion

in the final settlement of the country. Fortunately a danger which had threatened from Nepal was removed. Jang Bahadur had been reported to be moving along the border on a great shooting expedition with "13 regiments of beaters and 41 guns." The Governor-General was now relieved by hearing from the Resident that an epidemic of fever had attacked the Nepalese, and that the Resident was "sitting by Jang Bahadur's palanquin and administering quinine pills to him." The position in Kashmir was also improved by the impudent demand made by Dost Mahomed for the surrender to him of that principality. The Maharaja was clearly left in no doubt 'as to the consequences to himself should his British protectors be defeated by the Sikhs and their Afghan allies. The Dost's son, Mahomed Azim, had indeed invaded Bannu, but Taylor seized Dhulipgarh, and Edwardes eventually expelled the Duranis. The Governor-General was thus enabled to give his whole attention to the proceedings of Sir Henry Lawrence, who, having arrived at Lahore from Multan and taken charge of his office as Resident on the 1st of February, prepared a proclamation intended to be thrown out as an olive branch to the Sikh insurgents. It has been shown in the last chapter that Henry Lawrence had taken a decided line during his absence in London. Hobhouse had repeated to the Governor-General Lawrence's impressions that the danger in the Punjab was exaggerated, that Multan would be captured without much difficulty, and the spread of rebellion be stopped. It was as notorious that the Resident opposed annexation, as it is that Lord Dalhousie saw no other alternative. The danger that the future intentions of the Government of India might be compromised by some concession or expressions used

by the former was a real one; and experience had proved, that unless the Governor-General was prepared to resign the command to his subordinates, he must speak quickly and sharply. Thus Edwardes had entered into negotiations with the rebel Mulraj; Nicholson had treated with Sher Sing; and quite recently Abbott had been guilty of the surprising indiscretion of writing to Dost Mahomed "to invite" his assistance for the British Government. The last-mentioned blunder was neutralised by a letter which Currie was directed to send to the Amir demanding explanation of his presence at Peshawar, and threatening him with punishment if his intentions were not proved to be friendly. Currie himself was more than once answerable for mistakes due to his not consulting the Government of India. There was therefore abundant justification for the self-assertion of Lord Dalhousie, when Lawrence sent to him the draft of his proposed proclamation. He replied at once:—

I can by no means consent to the promulgation of it, and regard it as objectionable both in the matter of it and in the manner. In my conversation with you a few days ago, I took occasion to say to you that my mode of conducting public business, in the administration with which I am entrusted, and especially with the confidential servants of the Government, was to speak with perfect openness, without any reserve, and plainly to tell my mind without disguise or mincing of words. In pursuance of that system, I now remark on the proclamation you have proposed. It is objectionable in matter, because from the terms in which it is worded, it is calculated to convey to those who are engaged in this shameful war an expectation of much more favourable terms—much more extended indemnity of punishment than I consider myself justified in granting to them.

It is objectionable in manner, because (unintentionally, no doubt) its whole tone substitutes you personally, as the Resident at Lahore, for the Government which you represent. It is

calculated to raise the inference that a new state of things is arising, that the fact of your arrival with a desire to bring peace to the Punjab is likely to affect the warlike preparations of the Government, and that you are come as a peacemaker for the Sikhs, as standing between them and the Government. This cannot be. I cannot permit that any one word shall be said or any one act be done which shall give the faintest reason for any one to entertain the notion—a notion entirely false—that the views and the policy of the Government of India are dependent upon the particular agent who may be selected to represent them at Lahore.

I assured you lately that I have full confidence in your ability, your vigour, your experience. My confidence in your possession of these qualities will always ensure that the views you submit shall receive from me the most respectful and mature consideration. But my own judgment, acting for the Government of India, must be founded on the question when I have it in all its bearings before me, and when once pronounced, it is indispensable for the public interests that it should be carried into effect fully. There must be entire identity between the Government and its agent, whoever he is; and I repeat that I can permit nothing publicly to be said or done which should raise the notion that the policy of the Government of India or its intentions depend on your presence as Resident in the Punjab, or the presence of Sir F. Currie instead. By the orders of the Court of Directors, that policy is not to be finally declared until after the country is subjected and in our military possession.

Lord Dalhousie went on to explain that his own views were in favour of the entire subversion of the Sikh dynasty, and that he had no objection whatever to the issue of a suitable proclamation by Henry Lawrence. Of such a document he sketched the outline, adding his desire “that neither this nor any other proclamation shall be issued without being previously sanctioned by me.”

On the 5th of February Henry Lawrence replied with dignity in the following words:—

I feel grateful for the kindness and unreservedness with which your Lordship has honoured me, and beg to repeat the assurance that as long as I am your agent you will find me act with faithfulness and without reserve. My own opinion, as more than once expressed in writing to your Lordship, is against annexation. I did think it unjust; I now think it impolitic. It is quite possible I may be prejudiced and blinded, but I have thought over the subject long and carefully. However, if I had not intended to have done my duty under all circumstances, conscience permitting, I should not have hurried out from England to have taken part in arrangements that under any circumstances could not but have in them more of bitterness than aught else for me. To your Lordship personally I repeat that I feel very grateful, and I hope that you will find me act and write with as much honesty as I spoke when in your camp.

The revised proclamation which, after submission of its terms to the Governor-General, was issued, bearing the date of the 5th of February, ran as follows :—

A proclamation was issued by Sir F. Currie on the 18th of November last. I now again make known, by order of the Governor-General, the terms on which alone pardon may still be obtained.

They are, first, unconditional surrender; it being understood that no man's life shall be forfeited for the part he has taken in hostilities against the British Government.

Secondly, that the soldiers now in rebellion shall, on laying down their arms, be permitted to return to their homes, and to remain there in security; and that those Sardars who possessed Jaghirs shall not be entirely deprived of the means of subsistence. Let it be further observed that, in order to be entitled to the terms above mentioned, the submission must be immediate. No part of these terms refer to Sardar Sultan Mahomed Khan Barakzai.

The severe letter which disapproved of the Resident's draft of the proclamation was a painful communication for Henry Lawrence, with his sensitive nature, and his well-deserved honours gained in the service of his

country, to receive. It was not less painful to the Governor-General to write it. Commenting upon his action in this and in the letter which he wrote to Gough on the necessity for using his artillery, Lord Dalhousie observes that the communications were "necessary and for the good of the public service." No one will deny to the Governor-General or to the Resident full credit for unflinching devotion to duty. If it be argued that lighter terms would have proved of equal efficacy, that raises an issue which it is useless to discuss. Men placed in high office must accept its responsibilities, and the unpleasant duty of censure which at all times goes with it. Of the occasion for its exercise the responsible official must decide. History has no blame for Condé's rebuke to Marshal Gassion after the siege of Dunkirk—"Remember that when I give an order, I will be obeyed; I will teach you to respect my orders like the lowest soldier in the army"; and Henry Lawrence himself warned Edwardes a few days later that "the times have loosened discipline, but the sooner it is returned to, the better for all parties." He winced under the rebuke, but there is no evidence that it rankled in his mind. On the 18th of February following the Governor-General wrote to the Resident—"differences of opinion must not be understood as withdrawal of confidence," and there the matter may rest. Biographers who have thrown themselves into the controversy with an eagerness of offence, would have shown greater wisdom had they imitated the dignified reserve of the man whose cause they champion.

Having settled these personal difficulties with the Commander-in-Chief and the Resident, Lord Dalhousie anxiously awaited the movements of the two opposing armies. With skilful tactics the Sikhs had again con-

centrated at Rasul, close to the Jhelum, and to the north of Chilianwalla whereas Lord Gough took up a position near to the scene of that action, which allowed him too little freedom of movement. On the 16th of January Chattar Sing at last joined his son, Sher Sing, with more than 10,000 fresh troops, and on the 18th some 1500 horse, led by Akram Khan, swaggered into the Sikh camp, raising their force to at least 35,000 men, if not 60,000, as estimated by Lord Gough, with 59 guns. Whish was still moving up from Multan, and Lord Dalhousie had, as already stated, given imperative orders to the Commander-in-Chief to await his arrival. It was clearly the wisest tactics of the Sikhs to attack Gough before he received reinforcements; and Chattar Sing hoped to provoke the impetuous and brave Commander-in-Chief into an ill-considered advance upon the Sikh army in a position of its own choosing. With this object he moved to Dingi on the 6th of February, but failing by this ruse to tempt the British, he formed up his army in line of battle, with their right resting upon the edge of the hilly ground near Rasul. Even this provocation was allowed to go unanswered; and, once again foiled, Chattar Sing devised and secretly carried out at night a new plan of decisive character. Abandoning his position in front of the British army, he on the 13th of February set out for the Chenab, with the alternative before him of crushing Whish's force, or of moving upon Lahore. After some hesitation and change of plans, Lord Gough prepared to follow, meanwhile sending orders to Whish to push forward a detachment from Ramnagar to Wazirabad in order to prevent the Sikhs from crossing the river. But Whish had already taken that wise precaution, and had acted on his own initiative in guarding the fords. The Sikhs were thus

forced to content themselves with marching to Gujarat ; and there, in the season of the year most favourable for Europeans (the very object for which Lord Dalhousie had striven), the British, with their faces to the glistening snows of the Himalaya range, met the enemy for a final struggle.

Lord Gough's movements, which when completed brought him to this position, were—to Lasuri on the 15th of February, to Sadulapur on the 16th, and Konga on the 18th, the Sikhs being followed in a parallel line to the south in order to effect a junction with the Multan force. The Multan division under General Whish, consisting of two brigades under Markham and Harvey, joined the Commander-in-Chief on the 18th, while on the following day Dundas with the Bombay troops reached Konga, taking up his position on the left. Lord Gough having thus at his disposal a force of some 24,000 men occupied Sadiwalla, and at once proceeded to make a reconnaissance of the enemy's position at Gujarat. The sketch which I am permitted by the Duke of Wellington to reproduce here, and which was copied for the Great Duke by Lieutenant Hugh Rose, then in charge of the Governor-General's camp, gives a clear idea of the field of battle. The enemy's camp nearly encircled the town of Gujarat, their regular troops being placed in front of the British, between that town and the deep dry bed of the Dwara, which passed through the centre of the camp at Sadiwalla. On the British right was a water-course called the Kotila, a deep and narrow ravine which contained water up to a point parallel with Gujarat. The dry bed of the Dwara gave cover to the right of the Sikh infantry posted in front of their guns, while the Kotila covered their left. The ground between

the two river-beds for a distance of three miles offered no obstacle to the movement of heavy guns, and Gough determined to make his principal attack in this direction. Having completed his preparations, the Commander-in-Chief disappointed the Sikhs in their expectation of an immediate advance, and patiently waited for the morrow. The rising sun of the 21st of February, 1849, found the Bombay column under Dundas (the 4th Division) posted on the extreme left, with White's brigade of British cavalry and the Sind horse under Thackwell ready to foil any attempt on the part of the Sikh and Afghan cavalry to turn that flank. On the right of the Bombay column came the 3rd Division under Colin Campbell, with its right resting on the Dwara. Across the Dwara Sir Walter Gilbert with eighteen heavy guns commanded the 2nd Division, while the 1st Division under Whish, with Markham's brigade of infantry in reserve, filled up the rest of the space between the river-beds, the British right flank being protected by cavalry and horse artillery. The plan formed for the attack contemplated the penetration of the centre of the enemy's line so as to turn the position of their troops on the right of the Dwara, enabling Campbell and Dundas to cross that river-bed and double up on the centre the wing opposed to them. The enemy's position, with its right refused, its infantry sheltered by three villages—the three Kalras which were in their possession and in front of their line,—and with strong bodies of cavalry on both flanks, is shown in the sketch. The superior strength of the British artillery, both in numbers and in weight, is also given in detail.

At 7.30 A.M. the battle began, and after an obstinate defence the Sikh artillery was forced to fall back before

the terrific fire poured into it. It would have been well if the cannonade had been continued for another half-hour upon the villages of Burra and Chota Kalra. For within them lay concealed large bodies of the enemy, which were able to inflict heavy losses as Gilbert's troops advanced to take them. To the great satisfaction of the gallant old Commander-in-Chief, Burra Kalra was carried at the point of the bayonet by the 3rd Brigade under Penny, consisting of the 2nd Europeans and the 31st and 70th Native Infantry, while a portion of Hervey's brigade, led by Colonel Franks of Her Majesty's 10th Foot, was equally successful in its attack upon Chota Kalra. The Sikh artillery and the lines of infantry behind them fell back, and it seemed as if the battle was decided. But just at this moment the too rapid advance of a portion of the British infantry left a gap between the centre and the left of their line, into which the Sikhs threw themselves with a furious onslaught. The ammunition of some of the British guns gave out at the critical moment; but Colin Campbell saw the danger, and the fire of part of his artillery thundered upon the Sikhs, whose rout now became complete. Turning to the east, Campbell pursued the flying foe, while the Bombay column hotly followed them to the west of the town. Then the British cavalry, who, during the engagement of the infantry, had repeatedly charged the Sikh cavalry under Akram Khan, son of the Amir Dost Mahomed, joined in the pursuit, and nightfall alone put a stop to General Thackwell's operations. The losses on our side were small, about 100 killed and 700 wounded. On the following morning Gilbert was at the heels of the disorganised and broken Sikh army in the direction of the Jhelum, while Campbell scoured the country with a division of infantry, and

Bradford with Nicholson pushed on for twenty-four miles into the hills. Fifty-three out of the enemy's fifty-nine pieces of artillery were left in our hands, and all the guns lost by us at Ramnagar and Chilianwalla were recaptured. The whole of the Sikh camp and baggage were taken, and the fugitives, throwing away their arms and uniforms, hid themselves in their villages; while the Afghan horse stampeded from the field and never drew rein till they were safe across the Jhelum. A few of the Sikhs rallied on the other side of that river under cover of a detachment of 5000 men and six guns which had been sent across some time before under Sher Sing's brothers, but this rally in no way affected the completeness of the victory. Those who managed to get across destroyed their boats, so that Gilbert was delayed by having to seek for fords, and when he crossed on the 27th to a large island in midstream, they were gone. On and on they went, past Rohtas, occupying a splendid position in the Bakriula Pass, and abandoning it on the first approach of their pursuers, while their allies the Duranis withdrew from Attock and hurried off to Peshawar. Of these latter, Lord Dalhousie, writing to Sir James Hogg, said, "I hear from Kabul that the Dost is in great discredit, and the people in the utmost alarm, expecting our arrival for punishment. The Khaibaris would not come up to the scratch. I offered them two lakhs to close the pass effectually. Of course I was not fool enough to pay them beforehand. They said they would, but they did nothing, and said the Duranis ran so fast that they had not time to stop them."

With the Sikh army crushed beyond recovery, and the Afghan intruders driven from the Punjab, Lord Dalhousie's first thought went out to the brave British

officers and their wives who had long been captives in the hands of the Sikhs. But, anxious as he was for their release, he was not prepared to allow his enemy to use them as a means for extorting terms which public interest required him to refuse. On the 27th of February Major G. Lawrence, his leave on parole having expired, returned across the Jhelum, and was received with every possible distinction by Sher Sing, the Sardars, and the soldiery. Sher Sing proposed that they should lay down their arms if Lawrence would guarantee in writing that they would not be transported or imprisoned, and that no demand would be made upon him for past accounts with the State. Lawrence replied that he had no power to give such a guarantee, and he was thereon sent to Major Mackeson, who reported the matter to Sir Henry Lawrence. Lord Dalhousie instructed Lawrence to inform the Sardars that he had already demanded their unconditional surrender, and after gaining a decisive victory he could not alter his terms. But in order that they might not be driven to desperation, he added that he did not mean to take their lives, and that he would leave to them the means of subsistence. To Major Mackeson he wrote that if the Sardars offered to restore their captives and to surrender themselves, giving good security for their peaceful behaviour in the future, he might take upon himself to assure them that they would not be imprisoned or sent to Hindustan. In writing to Hobhouse on the 6th of March, 1849, Lord Dalhousie placed on record his motives and his extreme disinclination to treat with the Sardars at all, and added, "I have refused to offer on the part of Government any terms other than those I have offered from the first. But on the other hand the position of the prisoners pressed heavily upon me,

especially in regard to the ladies and children. I contemplated with anxiety their removal farther away, and their possible captivity again in Afghanistan. I asked myself whether I was justified in refusing to allow the minds of the Sardars to be satisfied that they would not be transported or imprisoned, when it was never my intention to visit them with either punishment." Then referring to the guarantee against their transportation or imprisonment, he continued, "I have assented to this proposal with much reluctance. My sole motive has been my desire to save these unhappy women from the possibility of their being carried into Afghanistan, and the natural discredit we should thereby suffer."

On the 8th of March Lawrence and the other captives were sent by the Sikhs into Gilbert's camp, which was then about thirty miles distant from Rawal Pindi. Lord Dalhousie, writing up his diary on Sunday the 11th of March, 1849, refers in these terms to Major Mackeson's letter, dated 2 P.M. on the 9th, conveying the news of the release: "I cannot tell in words the delight these tidings gave me. The fate of these prisoners pressed on my mind through the whole of this business more than all the changes of war or the troubles of policy. . . . The announcement of their release lifted Himalaya off my shoulders, and I thanked God earnestly and devoutly for this great goodness."

The pursuit of the Sikhs and Afghans by General Gilbert was continued with such relentless determination, that Sher Sing, finding his troops would not stand behind river or in pass, however advantageous for defence, resumed his overtures for surrender. Major Mackeson had communicated to Major Lawrence the terms offered by Lord Dalhousie, but Sher Sing wanted to be further assured that he would not be called to

account for moneys that had passed through his hands. He therefore visited Gilbert's camp, and after some discussion went away satisfied. Lord Dalhousie explains his own position in these terms: "I had not thought it necessary to give any orders upon the point, because it seemed absurd to suppose that they could persist in stipulations for such a release, when they were about to be stripped of everything except their bare maintenance." Accordingly he endorsed the assurances just given, and upon this Raja Sher Sing, Sardar Chattar Sing, and the chief Sardars handed over their swords to General Gilbert in his camp at Hurmuk on the 10th of March. But nothing was to be left to chance, and Gilbert hurried on to Rawal Pindi. There, on the 14th of March, he received the swords of all the remaining Sardars, took possession of the guns still with them, making forty-one surrendered to him, and witnessed, in the presence of his general officers and their staffs, the formal laying down of their arms by 18,000 Sikhs to a British column not exceeding 8000 men. Neville Chamberlain, when he joined Lord Dalhousie in camp in 1851, recounted to his Lordship some incidents of this dramatic scene which deserve repetition. One old greybeard advancing gravely to the pile of arms, laid upon it his shield, his sword, and his matchlock. Then reverently saluting them and joining his hands together, he exclaimed, "Aj Ranjit Sing mar gaya" (to-day is the death of Ranjit Sing). Many of the Sikhs betrayed great emotion when parting with their horses. One of them, who had been obliged to sell his favourite steed, reined up its head, and, fastening the reins on the peak of his saddle front, addressed the animal in touching terms. He recounted the battles and adventures which they had shared together, and

lamented the evil fate which had now befallen them. He claimed to have been a good and kind master, and, wishing the horse a continuance of such treatment, he salaamed to it and bade it good-bye with perfect gravity and sorrowful demeanour. Such was the end of the Sikh resistance, and in the campaign no less than 158 pieces of ordnance were captured by the British. The Afghans under their Amir Dost Mahomed alone remained, and Gilbert hurried after them, recovering Attock on the 18th of March, and Peshawar on the 21st, and scornfully chasing them out of the Punjab through the entrance to the Khaibar Pass. It only remains to be told that Gudhar Sing Mazbi, the murderer of Vans Agnew, was tried and found guilty; and on the 15th of March the Governor-General confirmed the sentence, directing that he should be publicly executed at Multan.

.. The first outburst of public rejoicing at the successful close of hostilities had hardly subsided, when the mail arrived bringing news of Lord Gough's supersession. The Duke of Wellington conveyed the intimation to the Commander-in-Chief in terms so considerate that they gave rise to a doubt whether Sir Charles Napier was authorised to assume the command without waiting for the voluntary retirement of his predecessor. Upon Lord Dalhousie fell the invidious task of deciding that question against Gough. The Duke's letter, dated the 5th of March, 1849, was as follows:—

Accounts were received in London on Saturday of the surrender of the citadel of Multan, and of the battle fought on the 13th of January by the army under your command between the rivers Chenab and Jhelum, upon which I sincerely congratulate you.

Her Majesty's servants being sensible that the term of your command was approaching, and that it was probable that you

would wish to return to England upon the termination of the campaign, had been for some time anxious that a successor to you should be indicated and even nominated, and different officers had been thought of, and Her Majesty's pleasure had been taken upon the subject.

But when the accounts of recent military events in India reached London on Saturday, and the opinion of them in India came to be known, the public opinion was so strongly manifested here of the necessity of taking immediate measures to secure the advantage of having upon the spot an officer in whom confidence could be placed for the exercise of the command of the army when you should come away, that I was required, without loss of time, to submit to Her Majesty the name of Lieutenant-General Sir Charles Napier, as the one most likely by his local experience, and the qualities which he had manifested in his former services in that country, to fulfil the expectations of the country, and to carry into execution the views and plans of the Government.

He will go out as soon as possible after this letter will be despatched; and I am convinced that you will do everything in your power to facilitate the performance of his duties, by the information which you will give him of your plans and intentions, and your instructions in respect to the mode of execution.

I would not allow any other to inform you of this arrangement, and I beg you to believe me, &c.

Lord Dalhousie had certainly criticised the conduct of the war in no mild terms; and when the Directors had granted Lord Gough an extension of his command, sheltering themselves under the recommendation of the Duke, he had written to Hogg to tear aside this plausible plea—"while the Duke is responsible for the advice, the Court and the Government are responsible for the adoption of it, which they were under no obligation whatever to assent to." But at the same time he maintained that the authorities at home had given way to panic in recalling the Commander-in-Chief, and that there was no need for their interference, since the Government of India had it in their power to place

the command over the army in the field in other hands had they considered it necessary.

It is pleasant to turn from this controversy, upon which more light will be thrown in the next chapter,¹ and to mention the rewards and honours which a grateful country bestowed upon the chief actors in the scenes which have been described. On the 27th of March orders were issued to break up the army of the Punjab, and the general order of the 2nd of April announced that "in anticipation of the wishes of the Honourable Court of Directors, the Governor-General will grant to every officer and soldier who has been employed within the Punjab in this campaign, to the date of the occupation of Peshawar, a medal bearing the word Punjab, in commemoration of the honourable service they have done." To this announcement exception was taken at home, and Lord Dalhousie was "snubbed." It was admitted that his predecessors had acted in a similar manner; but such grants were held to be embarrassing to the authorities, and to constitute an interference with the prerogative of the Crown. And thus, though the medal was eventually allowed, Lord Dalhousie was the last Governor-General who granted such an honour. In answer to the remonstrance, he pointed out that he had made no grant to the Queen's troops, and that his orders did not convey any permission to wear the medals. But his main justification rested on precedents to which no exception had been taken. For the Afghan wars batta and medals were given by the Government of India, and the precedent was repeated for the Gwalior campaign. More recently for the first Sikh war on the Satlaj, twelve months' batta and three medals were granted by Lord

¹ See chap. vii. p. 251.

Hardinge, whose action when reported home met with "the most cordial approval." Subsequently to 1846 no hint had been received in India that such rewards were beyond the powers of the Indian authorities, and if ever there was an occasion on which a medal was deserved, it was surely earned in the second Sikh war. Lord Dalhousie therefore felt that any reprimand was undeserved and harsh, and he did not attempt to hide his feelings in his despatch of the 22nd of July, 1849.

The Governor-General had indeed been more cautious in his rewards than any of his predecessors, promising neither batta nor gratuity to the troops, although recommending such grants to the authorities in Leadenhall Street. In September the army learnt that six months' pay would be sanctioned on the understanding that any batta paid would be deducted from such prize money as might be due. As to this prize money a long controversy ensued, and it was at last decided that a disbursement should be made to the troops on the 1st of January, 1850. Bars to the medal were added for Gujarat and Multan, and at this time denied for any other victory, the ground for this restriction being that the thanks of Parliament were limited to the final battle of the campaign and to the capture of Multan. Eventually Gough succeeded in getting the grant of a clasp for Chilianwalla. The faithful Nawab of Bahawalpur was rewarded with costly presents and a pension for life of a lakh of rupees. Later in the year Lord Dalhousie received His Highness in darbar, and expressed to him the high sense which Her Majesty's Government entertained of his loyal aid.

"His Highness," writes Lord Dalhousie, "stretched out his hands before him and asked, 'What had he done to deserve such words? He was but a small Zamindar, not capable of shewing the power

of a Nawab!' With such like compliments from me, and deprecatory replies, breathing humility and humbug, from him, we discoursed awhile. I was surprised to hear that he had not heard of the high praise which Mr. Elphinstone bestowed upon his grandfather. I promised to send him a translation of it."

Lord Dalhousie was highly pleased with the inclusion of his own name in the thanks voted by Parliament—"one of the greatest distinctions to which a public servant could ever look." He adds, "I thought that the thanks would be given to Lord Gough and the army, but I did not anticipate that my name would be included in the vote before the successful end of the war was announced."

The thanks of the Court of Directors and of the Court of Proprietors were also given in terms identical with those adopted by Parliament. Lord Gough was made a Viscount; but what pleased the gallant old general more than this personal distinction were the wholesale honours showered upon all whom he had recommended. On hearing this, the Viscount "threw his arms above his head, and cried out, 'Well then, now I forgive them everything.'" Upon which exhibition of feeling Lord Dalhousie commits to his diary this comment, "I truly believe that his warm, generous old heart exults in the success of his officers quite as much as in his own Viscounty."

Lord Dalhousie received a Marquisate, with the addition "of the Punjab," and restricted to heirs-male of his body lawfully begotten. It was not without regret that he parted with the title of Earl, ennobled for him by his predecessors.

"I of course prefer," he remarks in his journal, "to be a Scottish Earl of 1633 to being an English Marquis of 1849. It gives me no great number of steps in rank, and I was a peer of Great

Britain before. In some respects it is an actual disadvantage. An Earl with from £5000 to £6000 a year is not very well off, a Marquis is worse off still. I should have felt embarrassed if they had consulted me beforehand. I am very glad that they did not do so, but that they acted on Lord John's suggestion that the acknowledgment given should not be separated by an interval from the service for which it was conferred. As an evidence of their approbation of services, I am most deeply grateful for it and gratified by it."

But the honour which give him the most unqualified satisfaction was an autograph letter from the Queen, dated the 6th of June, 1849, approving of his policy and full of gracious thoughts for his health and happiness. This document he looked forward to depositing in his charter chest at Dalhousie Castle as something more precious than any patent of nobility.

The famous Koh-i-Nur diamond was confiscated with other State property by Lord Dalhousie in consideration of the facts that the Lahore State owed to the Company fifty-three lakhs of rupees, and that it was responsible for the enormous cost of the war which had just been brought to a close. In this argument the East India Company concurred, urging, however, that as a logical inference the jewel became their property. The Governor-General thought differently, and his views are thus set forth in his diary :—

The Koh-i-Nur had ever been the symbol of conquest. The Emperor of Delhi had it in his Peacock Throne. Nadir Shah seized it by right of conquest from the Emperor. Thence it passed into the hands of the King of Kabul. While Shah Shuja-ul-Mulk was king, Ranjit Sing extorted the diamond by gross violence and cruelty. And now when, as the result of unprovoked war, the British Government has conquered the kingdom of the Punjab, and has resolved to add it to the territories of the British Empire in India, I have a right to compel the Maharaja

of Lahore, in token of his submission, to surrender the jewel to the Queen, that it may find its final and fitting resting-place in the crown of Britain. And there it shall shine, and shine, too, with purest ray serene. For there is not one of those who have held it since its original possessor, who can boast so just a title to its possession as the Queen of England can claim after two bloody and unprovoked wars.

NOTE.—Since these pages were written a vindication of Lord Gough's strategy has appeared under the title of *The Life and Campaigns of Hugh 1st Viscount Gough*, by Robert S. Rait. Those who desire to study both sides of the question will do well to consult this work.

CHAPTER VII

THE ANNEXATION OF THE PUNJAB

View of the Lawrences on annexation—Lord Dalhousie's arguments in favour of this step—Sir John Hobhouse's hesitation—Reasons for prompt action—Proclamation issued on the 29th of March, 1849—Terms granted to the Maharaja—Elliot's mission to Lahore and its results—Legality of the arrangement—Temper of the Sikh nation—Lord Dalhousie joins his wife at Simla—Sir Charles Napier assumes command—Responsibility for Lord Gough's recall—Reasons for appointing a Board of Administration—Constitution of the Board—Character of the two Lawrences—Differences of opinion between the brothers—Selection of subordinate officers (civil and military)—Question of strength and character of the military force—Establishment of a police force—Officers' wives not allowed to join their husbands—Smouldering embers of disturbance—Behaviour of the Maharani—Trial and conviction of Diwan Mulraj—Treatment of the rebel Sardars—The effect produced by their arrest—Press criticism of Lord Dalhousie's action—Treatment of the Maharaja.

LORD DALHOUSIE lost no time in putting in his sickle 1849. to reap the fruits of his hard-won triumphs. In choosing between annexation and the restoration of the Punjab to Native rule under new conditions, he had to act upon his own responsibility. As will be presently shown, the decision was not suggested to him from home, nor can I find any confirmation of the dramatic story told by Bosworth Smith¹ in the following passage as to John Lawrence's uncompromising advice:—

¹ *Life of Lord Lawrence*, by R. Bosworth Smith. Vol. i. ch. x. p. 278.

"What is to be done?" asked Lord Dalhousie, self-reliant and self-sufficing as he was, of the subordinate whose advice he was hereafter so often to ask. . . . "What is to be done with the Punjab now?" And John Lawrence, who knew well that his questioner had made up his mind, at all hazards, ultimately to annex the conquered province, answered with characteristic brevity, "Annex it now." Difficulty after difficulty was started by the Governor-General, but John Lawrence met each difficulty as it was started with what he considered to be the best and the only sufficient method of meeting it—"Annex it now; annex it now; annex it now."

This story seems to me inconsistent with a mass of correspondence which lies before me. It may suffice to give the following extracts. On the 24th of March, 1849, Lord Dalhousie wrote to Sir John Hobhouse:—

I need not say that the whole question has been for months past almost exclusively the subject of my reflections. The result has at all times been the same, and I have never felt, more especially since the Afghans came upon the stage, the tremor of a doubt, or seen reason to question for a moment the necessity of the policy which I submitted to you.

From a further letter, dated the 7th of April, I quote the following:—

Representations came from civil officers on the frontier (and even from the Lawrences themselves, who were of course opposed to annexation) of the importance of Government declaring something definite at once, one way or the other.

Again referring to the ratification of the terms of settlement by Dhulip Sing, he observed:—

The general indifference exhibited has been remarked upon in other accounts than that of Mr. Elliot. Except Dina Nath, the only persons who exhibited signs of dejection and regret were the two Lawrences, whom, principally in reference to the past, I had previously placed at the head of the new Government.

As already said, the Governor-General acted upon his own responsibility without even a suggestion from home. The account now to be given from sources of information hitherto sealed to the public will reveal the secret history of the transaction, and at the same time throw much light upon the character of Lord Dalhousie. There can be no doubt that when he first received intelligence of the Multan tragedy, any thought of annexation that may have crossed his mind was instantly dismissed. On the 3rd of May, 1848, he wrote to Hobhouse in these terms:—

I will enforce most ample and conspicuous punishment and reparation. I have no inclination to make this incident an excuse for picking a quarrel with the State, but I will not shrink from pursuing an inflexible determination to visit with signal punishment the party responsible for the outrage, whether it be the Diwan, or whether it shall prove on investigation to have other authors and a deeper source.

As time wore on, the whole truth revealed itself. The Maharani had instigated the crime. That might have been forgiven, for she was neither Regent nor responsible for the Council. But one member of the Lahore Government after another was quickly drawn into the rebellion, until the mutiny of the army with the revolt of the Sardars Chattar Sing and Sher Sing compromised the State, and required "national" reparation. Even then there remained a hope that such reparation might stop short of wholesale annexation. "We do not desire the country, and ought not to desire it. But we do desire permanent peace and tranquillity," were the words used by the Governor-General. But on the 15th of August, 1848, his Lordship thought it expedient to lay the whole case before the Board of Control, in the hope that he might elicit from them an

expression of opinion. In a letter of that date addressed to Hobhouse, which was attentively considered by Lord John Russell, and submitted to the Queen, the Governor-General reviewed the course of our past relations with the Sikh Government, and proved that it had violated its treaties and engagements. The incident of Multan was no longer an isolated act of rebellion. The Company had to deal with a war of independence and an outbreak of religious fanaticism. The Punjab itself was not the only State affected. Emissaries had been sent into Afghanistan, Kashmir, and Rajputana to stir up a general rising against the Christian foreigners. Further inquiries were being made into the extent of this widespread conspiracy, and meanwhile the Governor-General wished to record his own views. If matters really were as they seemed to be, and if the complicity of those suspected should be established, there was only one way to prevent a recurrence of such perilous treachery:—"It will have then become indispensable for us to suppress the Sikh dynasty, to render the Sikhs by effectual measures utterly impotent as a military power, and to convert the Punjab into a British province." But even if such evidence should not be obtained, the Sikhs had already done enough to forfeit our goodwill and destroy our confidence. Three courses, as Lord Dalhousie observed, were open to us. As soon as Multan was reduced and Mulraj fitly punished, we might forget and forgive, resuming our former relations with Lahore. But this forbearance would afford no adequate guarantee for future good behaviour. A second course was the retention of the province of Multan as a punishment for what had occurred. But the possession of a piece of territory cut off by 200 miles of foreign jurisdiction from the British dominion

in the north would be "a cause of inconvenience and a source of anxiety." Thirdly, we might withdraw our protection from the Sikh kingdom; but that would be a suicidal policy, leading to internal revolution and further bloodshed, followed by inevitable annexation. The real objection to an immediate extension of British dominion was one of finance, though the cost of administration might not prove as great as was imagined. Looking at the matter from every point of view, the Governor-General was still of the opinion, even if the proof of a general conspiracy should fail, "that however contrary it may be to our past views and to our present views, annexation of the Punjab is the most advantageous policy for us to pursue. I firmly believe we shall not succeed in establishing a friendly Sikh power." To this letter Hobhouse replied on the 23rd of October, stating that he had consulted Lord John Russell and Sir Henry Lawrence as well as others, and adding:—

The general verdict is that I think I can discover much disinclination to take the formal and decisive step which would convert the Punjab at once into a British province. But at the same time I can assure you, on the part of the Government, that if you should feel yourself compelled, by the urgency of the case, to adopt that or any important change, without waiting for the sanction of the home authorities, the most favourable construction would be put upon your proceedings. I repeat what I said in my letter of the 6th of this month, that all hope of establishing an independent Hindu or Sikh power in the Punjab must be abandoned. It is clear that even supposing you should not obtain decisive proofs of a detailed scheme of treachery against us, the Sikhs as a government, and as a nation, have done quite enough to justify a complete reconsideration of the arrangement under which their territory is now administered. Of this I have not the slightest doubt, and Sir Henry Lawrence who, as at present advised, is decidedly adverse to annexation, entirely concurs in that conclusion.

The President of the Board of Control then proceeded to say that any measure short of annexation would be well received—

We do not want another state like Oudh or the Nizam's country to plague and disgrace us. I mean rather complete subjection without the name, if such a result can be secured."

Lord Dalhousie was too scrupulously honest to approve of a suggestion which savoured of ill-faith by "preserving the shadow and not the substance of Native rule." But before his reply could be received, Hobhouse had gone still further. On the 7th of November he wrote, "It is clear now that you have the right to do what you choose. The only difference of opinion will be in regard to policy." Lord Auckland, he said, was opposed to annexation, and on his own part he urged the Governor-General to look at the matter "in all its bearings." A fortnight later he added that the rebellion must be put down "before you talk of fate." It was unfair to punish the mere subordinates, while, on the other hand, annexation was an "extreme step." On the 7th of December he wrote with even greater distinctness, "we wish the question of annexation to be reconsidered." Nor was the President content with unofficial correspondence. On the 24th of November, 1848, the Secret Committee were required by the Government to address an official despatch, from which these extracts are taken:—"We entirely concur with you in abandoning all hope of securing the fidelity of the Sikh Sardars by an adherence to the present arrangement." Then the Committee proceeded to deal with the question of policy—"we strongly incline to the opinion that you would do well to refrain, in the first instance, from any public

announcement of future intentions." They added that, when the Sikh armies had been subdued, then "it may be expedient for you to review the important question of annexation in all its bearings, military, financial, and political; and as there appears to be no necessity for an immediate decision, we wish to be favoured with your further deliberations previously to your making your final arrangements."

How then could Lord Dalhousie commit the Government he served to final arrangements without further consultation? He felt that circumstances had arisen which created the "necessity for an immediate decision," and that duty required him to act. His justification is given in a letter to Hobhouse, dated the 15th of June, 1849, in these terms:—

I must beg your permission to reply that everything which gave to our position its peculiarity and its chief importance *did* occur after you issued those instructions. The Afghans had entered on the scene, and had converted the war, or sought to convert it, from a struggle between English and Sikhs, into a general conflict between the British power and the Mahomedan. We had met with reverses—our power had been successfully resisted both in north and south, and the Sikhs in their camp did speak of, and believe in, an early march on Delhi. Unquestionably the reputation of our arms was tarnished, and the might of them questioned; for months it was not believed in India that Multan had really been taken; and similar rumours were everywhere prevalent that our star was waning. No time was to be lost in removing these impressions.

That, however, was only one part of his justification. The strongest reason for action lay in the fact that delay would have allowed anarchy to spread on all sides beyond the immediate vicinity of the British cantonments.

The Governments were gone; the army was gone; there was no police; the Darbar officials were already disregarded even in

districts bordering on our own. No revenue could have been collected, no order could have been preserved. I should have given an absolute premium to the renewal of resistance by those who, as we have sufficiently seen, are too senseless to think of anything beyond what is before their eyes at the moment. . . . I was well aware of the responsibility under which I stood; it was in my conscientious judgment necessary that I should assume it; and I should have been quite unworthy of the position in which you have placed me if I had been terrified by it. I have only to add that I am quite prepared for whatever may be the personal consequences of that act.

The authorities, if they were barely gracious in accepting the defence of the Governor-General, took care both to profit by his independent action and to avoid any risk of depriving the country of his valuable services. Further, public opinion was not slow in regarding Lord Dalhousie's decision as justified by the paramount necessities of self-defence. It agreed with him that we had shown moderation towards the State of Lahore, and that our motives were placed above all suspicion. No responsible authority was prepared to dispute the statement, made in the Government of India's despatch, dated the 7th of April, 1849: "Experience has shown us that a strong Hindu Government, capable of controlling its army, and governing its own subjects, cannot be formed in the Punjab. The materials for it do not exist."

Lord Dalhousie had weighed in his mind the possibility of introducing a larger measure of British control by his own officers, the Maharaja being still the nominal sovereign. But he felt that such a plan would win from native opinion credit neither for our honesty of purpose nor for our courage. To the argument that the young Maharaja was a minor who should not be held responsible for the consequences of his people's acts, he

replied by a reference to the results of the first Sikh war, when, in 1845, the Khalsa army invaded British territory, and the State was punished by the confiscation of its richest province. After that event, the responsibility of the Native State for any further disturbances was formally declared, and it was accepted by the Maharaja and his advisers. Looking at the question from every point of view, the Governor-General was firmly convinced that the safety of the Company's possessions demanded the abandonment of their past policy, and the final subjection of the Sikh nation. Rising to the responsibilities of his high office, he therefore issued, on the 29th of March, a proclamation announcing "that the kingdom of the Punjab is at an end, and that all the territories of the Maharaja Dhulip Sing are now, and henceforth, a portion of the British Empire in India." At the same time, since the Maharaja was the recognised ruler who represented that nation, and since his army had been defeated in war and his country conquered, it was incumbent that he should formally accept the terms granted to him.

Such were Lord Dalhousie's views, and since he had persistently expressed them in his private letters to the Board and to the Court, he never ceased to complain that the home authorities had not given him their final conclusions upon the issues which he had raised. Writing on the 13th of April, 1849, to his cousin Fox Maule, he says :—

I am very sensible of the cordial support I have received from your Government. It would be false modesty to say that my position has not been a difficult one. Whether they will sanction the policy I have established, I know not. I declared to them my conviction of its necessity. They have given me no instructions, but to review my opinion when the war was over, and

let them know. I have from time to time told them my mind was unchanged. To wait four months now for their orders was impossible. There was no government in the Punjab, and if I had not proclaimed a distinct policy of one kind or another, I should have had the country in one month in riot and utter anarchy, and harm would have been done which years and years could not have made good. What I have done, I have done as an act of necessity."

What he had done is best shown in the terms which are here reproduced in the exact¹ form in which he had signed them a week before he wrote to his cousin :—

TERMS GRANTED TO, AND ACCEPTED BY, MAHARAJAH
DHULEEP SING.

Terms granted to the Maharajah Duleep Sing Bahadoor, on the part of the Honorable East India Company, by Henry Meirs Elliot, Esq., Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, and Lieutenant-Colonel Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence, K.C.B., Resident, in virtue of full powers vested in them by the Right Honorable James, Earl of Dalhousie, Knight of the Most Ancient and Most Noble Order of the Thistle, one of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, Governor-General appointed by the Honorable East India Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and accepted on the part of His Highness the Maharajah, by Rajah Tej Sing, Rajah Deena Nath, Bhaee Nidhan Sing, Fukeer Noorooddeen, Gundur Sing, Agent of Sirdar Shere Sing Sindhanwalla, and Sirdar Lall Sing, Agent and son of Sirdar Utter Sing Kaleanwalla, Members of the Council of Regency, invested with full power and authority on the part of His Highness.

1st.—His Highness the Maharajah Duleep Sing shall resign for himself, his heirs, and his successors, all right, title, and claim to the sovereignty of the Punjab, or to any sovereign power whatever.

2nd.—All the property of the State, of whatever description and wheresoever found, shall be confiscated to the Honorable

¹ The terms are reproduced as they were signed without any alteration of the spelling.

East India Company, in part payment of the debt due by the State of Lahore to the British Government, and of the expenses of the war.

3rd.—The Gem called the Koh-i-noor, which was taken from Shah Shooja-ool-Moolk by Maharajah Runjeet Sing, shall be surrendered by the Maharajah of Lahore to the Queen of England.

4th.—His Highness Dulleep Sing shall receive from the Honorable East India Company, for the support of himself, his relatives, and the servants of the State, a pension not less than four and not exceeding five lakhs of Company's rupees per annum.

5th.—His Highness shall be treated with respect and honour. He shall retain the title of Maharajah Dulleep Sing Bahadour, and he shall continue to receive, during his life, such portion of the above-named pension as may be allotted to himself personally, provided he shall remain obedient to the British Government, and shall reside at such place as the Governor-General of India may select.

Granted and accepted at Lahore, on the 29th of March 1849, and ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General on the 5th April 1849.

[Here followed the signatures of all the parties named above.]

Lord Dalhousie anticipated that the Council of Regency might refuse to accept these terms, and he knew that Henry Lawrence was strongly opposed to annexation. But he had made up his mind, and it was his duty and his intention to carry through the business. The position between the Government of India and the State of Lahore had come to the lawyer's formula—take or leave—and his own concessions had reached their farthest limit. Under the circumstances he selected his Foreign Secretary as his agent in the final transaction. Elliot, he thought, would manage the matter with skill and firmness, seeing the members of the Regency privately, in the first instance, and making it clear that any reluc-

tance on their part would be a great mistake, that the Maharaja as well as themselves would be sufferers from it, that the decision of the Governor-General would in any case be carried out, the only difference being that if they with the Maharaja gave their formal assent, the advantageous position they then held would be guaranteed to them, while if they refused, they would lose everything which the British Government chose to resume. The country could of course be taken and the Maharaja deposed without any paper being signed; but the plan the Marquis proposed to himself was more formal, looked better, and had the advantage of being founded on the precedent of the proceedings in the case of the Peshwa in 1818. For himself, he was prepared to be called a plunderer by those who were opposed to annexation, though plunder was not in his policy. The safety of the British dominions had demanded the subversion of the Sikh power, and it fell to him to carry the matter through.

Elliot was driven in to Lahore by George Lawrence, lately released from his long captivity, and executed his delicate mission with such promptitude, that he was able to return and report the result to the Governor-General at breakfast on the 31st of March. The substance of this report was that on the 28th he had a conversation with Henry and John Lawrence, who, on being shown the note and the terms, declared their conviction that no member of the Regency would sign the terms, Sir Henry adding that he was President of the Council, and would not advise them to take such a step. Elliot rejoined that neither the treaty nor the subsequent proceedings of Government had made him President; and that even if such had been his real position, he would not have been placed in it that he

might espouse the Sikh cause in opposition to the declared will of his own Government whom he served as Resident. Finally he demanded that if Sir Henry persisted in his resolution he should put his determination in writing for submission to the Governor-General.

When this incident was closed by an undertaking from Henry Lawrence that he would offer no obstacles, Elliot sent for Raja Tej Sing and Dina Nath, to whom he explained that the policy of Government was settled, and that all that remained open was the manner of carrying it out. Annexation was an inevitable consequence of the war, and it was for them to take or reject the advantages of complying with the terms proposed by the victors. After three hours' discussion, they bowed to the force of circumstances; and the other members of the Council being called in, the terms offered were accepted and signed. On the following morning at 8 A.M. a grand darbar was held at the palace in the citadel, amidst all the pomp and circumstance of such assemblies. Raja Dina Nath addressed the audience in brief terms to the effect that the Sikh Government was compelled to yield to the demands of its conquerors, but he trusted that consideration would be shown to the Maharaja. Upon this, Elliot produced the document already signed by the Council, and the Maharaja affixed his signature. No doubt His Highness acted under compulsion; but those who take the sword, must perish by the sword; and the Sikh nation, of which he was the head, having appealed to force, was now obliged by force to pay the penalty of defeat. During the proceedings in darbar the Maharaja kept his eyes steadfastly fixed on Elliot, but in other respects he appeared to accept his fate with equanimity; while the assembled nobles and other Sikhs, with the excep-

tion of Dina Nath, who shed tears, betrayed no emotion. This part of the ceremony being concluded, the proclamation issued by the Governor-General was read aloud, and the British colours were hoisted on the citadel and saluted. The proclamation recited the previous acts of clemency shown to the Sikh nation, the treacherous murder of British officers, the rebellion of the nation, led by the Regency, and the final vindication of British arms. The kingdom of the Punjab was declared to be at an end. The Maharaja would be treated with consideration and honour. The few chiefs who had not taken part in hostilities against the British Government would retain their property and rank. The estates and personal property of Sardars and others implicated in the rebellion would be confiscated to the State. Fortifications would be razed, and effectual measures taken to prevent a renewal of tumult or war. The free exercise of all religions, Mahomedan, Hindu, or Sikh, would be allowed, religious customs respected, and the rights of peaceful citizens maintained. Resistance would be punished with the utmost severity, but otherwise the British Government engaged to rule with mildness and beneficence.

It was inevitable that Lord Dalhousie's proceedings should be vigorously assailed by those who were opposed to him personally, and by the party in opposition to the Government of the day. Lord Ellenborough in particular attacked the justice, as well as the policy of annexing the country and confiscating the property of the deposed Maharaja and his mother. The controversy waxed so strong, that the question, "Whether the arrangement of the 29th March, 1849, concluded with the Maharaja Dhulip Sing, and ratified by the

home authorities, can be impugned on any legal grounds?" was referred for legal advice. The opinion signed by John Dodson, A. E. Cockburn, W. P. Wood, F. Thesiger, Fitz Roy Kelly, and Loftus Wigram was to the effect, that "the arrangement of the 29th March, 1849, concluded and ratified as stated in this case, cannot be impugned." Broughton, writing on the 7th of May, 1851, to the Marquis, added the fact that "the case was drawn up with something like a leaning to the adversary, and the question is, morally speaking, set at rest."

While he was anxiously awaiting the decision of the home authorities, Lord Dalhousie received many gratifying proofs of the general acceptance and even satisfaction with which his strong act had been hailed. That he was particularly gratified by a letter which Colonel Benson received from Colonel M'Sherry, is shown by the following reference to that communication:—

On the 30th Colonel M'Sherry hoisted the British colours in the fortress of Govindghar. The officers of the Sikh regiment quartered at Amritsar and the head men of the city begged to be allowed to attend. They did so, and presented their Nazars (offerings). Next day the Corporation, as he calls them, of Amritsar came to him to know whether they might illuminate the city "on this joyful occasion." He said they might do as they pleased; and he reports that there is to be a grand illumination in the spiritual metropolis of the Punjab in honour of its being annexed to the British Empire in the East. It is a most strange feature in this most strange series of events, view it as you will.

Although Amritsar in this matter did not, perhaps, represent general conviction, the attitude of the Sikh population was submissive and dignified. They felt that there had been a fair trial of strength, in which

they had been beaten. They remembered, too, that while their Sardars had entered into alliances with those who were their natural enemies, alliances from which no permanent benefit could result, they had provoked to the conflict those who, after overwhelming defeat, had treated them with leniency. They were therefore prepared to make a peaceful trial of the new régime, and that was all that the Governor-General required or could reasonably look for.

During the struggle in the field and the crisis at Lahore, Lord Dalhousie had remained encamped near Firozpur. With the close of military operations, and the issue of his final proclamations, he felt that without his own personal superintendence he might now set going a system of rules and regulations for the government of the annexed territories pending the receipt of instructions from England. A Board of Administration was therefore established, and an adequate staff of civil and military officers drafted into the Punjab. This done, the Governor-General proceeded to join his wife, then residing at Simla, in the modest building which at the time bore the name of Government House. Setting out on the 3rd of April, and passing through Ludhiana, Amballa, and Rupar, he reached the foot of the hills, and there parted with Colonel Angelo, in command of the Irregular Corps, Colonel Smith of the 9th Native Infantry, and Lieutenant Harrison, with his two guns, who had been responsible for his safety. Thence he rode by easy stages, and was met about two miles from Simla by Lady Dalhousie, "so happy that she did not quite know whether to laugh or to cry."

On the road the English mail was put into his hands, and he received with astonishment the news that Sir Charles Napier had been appointed Commander-

in-Chief in the place of Lord Gough. By previous mails Hobhouse had given him to understand that Sir William Gomm had been chosen for the post, and he had added to the confusion by remarking that for the present it was no use to send out Lord Gough's successor, as the season for military operations would be over before he could arrive. On reaching Simla Lord Dalhousie at once wrote a friendly note to Lord Gough, who replied in a manly and simple letter, followed up a few days later by a personal visit. In the course of the conversation which then took place, Lord Gough referred to the Duke of Wellington's letter to him, already printed in the last chapter, and drew the inference that Sir Charles would not assume the command until he himself should have resigned it. Lord Dalhousie, who felt both keen regret at the mortification which this appointment had caused to his colleague, and admiration at the courage and manly dignity with which the Chief bore it, was constrained to take a different view of the position. He, however, determined to await the arrival of Sir Charles and his commission. On the 16th of May the Calcutta post brought the news that Sir Charles Napier had arrived, and that without delay he had assumed the command.

A day or two afterwards Lord Dalhousie returned the visit of Lord Gough, and had hardly entered the house when to his surprise he heard a salute fired. He remarked that he had not expected this honour, whereupon Lord Gough replied: "They are your own guns, my lord." Then he suddenly remembered that Lord Gough had begged him to accept, as a memento of the time through which they had passed, two guns captured at Gujarat, which he suggested should be

preserved at Dalhousie Castle among the family heirlooms. With this graceful attention the Governor-General's official relations with his colleague came to an end. There can be little doubt that the anxiety which Lord Dalhousie had felt during the earlier stages of the war, and the criticism he had expressed as to its conduct, had, whatever his intention, contributed directly towards the sudden termination of Lord Gough's career in India. And if the victory of Gujarat had not been won, his sense of duty would have led him to write in stronger terms to those in authority at home and to have exercised his own authority. But he had certainly not recommended Lord Gough's recall, nor had he expected such a step without further action on his part. His expressions of regret were therefore honest and sincere, and Lord Gough accepted them as such. On the other hand, Hobhouse and his colleagues were much annoyed when Lord Dalhousie repudiated responsibility for their decision, and the President gave dire offence to the Governor-General by telling him that he had heard of his complaints that the Government had acted in opposition to his known opinions in extending Gough's term of office, and by adding: "The first care of a public functionary should not be for his own reputation." This remark, contained in a letter from Hobhouse dated the 7th of March, 1849, was uncalled for and unjust. Writing to his cousin Fox Maule, Lord Dalhousie said: "I repeat my assurance that on no occasion have I ever intimated that Lord Gough was forced upon me in spite of my resistance and remonstrance, as Sir John Hobhouse says, or complained of want of support, as you say." The true state of the case appears to be this. Lord Dalhousie

was not unwilling in 1848 to see the Commander-in-Chief's term of office extended in view of the impending hostilities. He neither recommended that measure nor remonstrated against it when it was carried out. Above all, he never allowed himself to complain of any want of support from the Government of Lord John Russell. On the contrary, he warmly acknowledged his obligations to them. Similarly, when he was disappointed with the conduct of the war, he complained bitterly of Lord Gough's tactics, and was prepared if the necessity arose to place the command in the field in the hands of some one else. His letters were designed to prepare the ground for such a step if he found himself compelled to take it. But he neither recommended nor expected the home authorities to interfere, when he himself was on the spot to judge of the necessity, and moreover had full power to act. The controversy ended with a courteous but unbending letter from Hobhouse, and a cold reply from the Governor-General, dated the 25th of July, saying that "the matter may so end." Before many months had passed, the latter wrote to Fox Maule to say that "Hobby has behaved like a brick" in the Napier business, and on the 21st of February, 1852, he wrote to the same correspondent: "Lord Broughton has been, with one little exception, uniformly friendly, trusting, and cordial to me."

The damp climate of Simla agreed but ill with Lord Dalhousie, and a lameness in his foot, which Dr. Grant attributed to latent gout, prevented him from taking that exercise which is essential to health at such an elevation. But he had the more leisure for watching and developing his scheme for the administration of the new districts which, upon his own responsi-

bility, he had added to the Company's territories. A general outline of his measures in this direction will now be given, and it will be seen that he was innocent of the designs imputed to him by a recent writer in the following words:—"A Board was precisely the instrument he wanted in the Punjab. For he did not intend that the Board should be the controlling power; he had determined to be the controlling power himself."¹ It is, perhaps, not altogether unnatural that the Governor-General's resolution to govern through a Board should be so construed; but the story rests upon no better foundation than that which credited John Lawrence with having forced upon the Governor-General the necessity of annexation. The real truth is that Lord Dalhousie was obliged by circumstances to acquiesce in this scheme of administration. Sir Henry Lawrence was on the spot, and could not at the time be provided for elsewhere. But he was thought to lack some of the qualifications needed at the head of affairs in the Punjab, and it seemed advisable that he should have coadjutors. The following extracts from letters addressed to the President of the Board of Control clearly explain the position in which the Governor-General was placed. On the 25th of May, 1849, Lord Dalhousie wrote:—

If Sir Henry Lawrence had in my judgment been as indisputably fit to administer alone the civil government as he was to direct the political and military arrangements of the Punjab, I never would have thrown the local government into the form of a Board. But Sir H. Lawrence is not Sir Thomas Munro; and he had neither the experience nor the qualifications which would have

¹ *Dalhousie*, by W. W. Hunter, p. 94. See also page 42: "He deliberately placed the newly-conquered Punjab under a Board, because he determined that the Board should be his right hand, but that he himself should be the directing intelligence."

justified me in committing all the civil government to him alone. I could not have more directly consulted his own feelings than by giving him his own brother as a colleague ; while Mr. Mansel, with whom he agrees very well, has perhaps the highest reputation of any man of his standing now in the service in these provinces."

On the 30th of July he answered certain objections made by Hobhouse in these terms :—

You say that critics remark there are a good many Commissioners for the government of the Punjab. There are three, and in the selection of most of the persons, as well as the form of government, I was fettered by previous events. I need not remind you of the peculiar position which Sir Henry Lawrence held. The place at the head of affairs in the Punjab was left open for him by the suggestion of the Government of India, and I was personally pledged to replace him ; he resumed the head of affairs in February, 1849. I told him that if, opposed as I knew he was to the new policy, he felt he could not carry it out into execution as frankly and efficiently as the other, I expected of his candour and honour that he would say so. He said he would do so cordially. Having so lately and under such peculiar circumstances replaced him as head of the Government there, I could not turn him out if he was willing to act. Thus I was tied to Sir H. Lawrence. But Sir H. Lawrence was not competent to the sole charge of the Punjab, to the civil government of it. It was indispensable to give him a coadjutor. There was no man who had so strong a claim to that office, no man fitter for it, no man more likely to get on with his brother than John Lawrence. But it would not have done to make a family compact, and it was necessary to provide against difference of opinion. Wherefore I put in a third, Mr. Mansel. I have thus shown you how a Board was a form of government forced on me by previous events. I should never have chosen such a government.

On the 6th of September the Governor-General, having just heard of the illness of Henry Lawrence, at once informed Hobhouse of the fact, and added :—

If he did go, I should take advantage of the opportunity to get the administration moved towards the form I myself desired—

namely, a single Commissionership, and which Sir H. L.'s "headship," as they say in Scotland, made impracticable for me at first starting.

One more extract must bring to a close the argument that Sir William Hunter's conclusion is not based upon the true facts of the situation. On the 22nd of December Lord Dalhousie wrote to the President of the Board from Multan, announcing the return of Henry Lawrence, and adding :—

I shall not be sorry when he goes ; because although he has many fine qualities, I think his brother John, take him all in all, is a better man, fitted in every way for that place ; while Sir Henry's opinions are so strong, and differ so widely from mine and the opinion of most other people, that unless they were overborne or much modified by his colleagues, we should come to a deadlock in a month. This antagonism of opinion has, as I suspected, brought the brothers into violent collision very often during the present season in the discussions of the Board ; and John Lawrence is a good deal distressed by it, and would not unwillingly get away. If Sir H. would go to the Cape at least, I could manage to dispose of Mansel somehow, and I should then get John as sole administrator for two years, in which time something would turn up to enable me to make this form of government permanent.

"Everything that I have seen in the Punjab has given me great satisfaction," was an admission which the writer made in the letter from which the above extract is taken. It may therefore be regarded as certain that the Board proved successful, although some of the effects of its composition were friction in the Council-room and an endless correspondence with the Governor-General. Limitations of space alone prevent any attempt to summarise the contents of the numerous volumes of letters written to Henry and John Lawrence, which were carefully preserved. They bear testimony to the high regard which each brother entertained for

the other, and to the confidence which they both placed in the Governor-General's sound judgment and fairness of mind, while at the same time they illustrate the firmness and decision with which Lord Dalhousie brought their controversies to an end. When Henry was absent John sorely missed his counsel. Of his colleague, Charles Greville Mansel, John Lawrence wrote, in a letter dated the 22nd of September, 1849, in these terms :—

Mansel is a man of a clear and good judgment, but of a legal and technical turn of mind. He is also very conciliating, and in all matters almost prefers the middle and safe course. In the absence of my brother, with Mansel's views, and the poverty of information, I do not wish to ask my colleague, who is my senior, to act.

Lord Dalhousie was not long in observing the disadvantages of a mind which views everything in so many lights, perceives so many distinctions, and has in short so many opinions that practically it might have no opinion at all. He was glad therefore when he was able in 1851 to replace Mansel by Robert Montgomery.

Before this change occurred, the differences of opinion between Henry and John upon matters of principle grew more and more pronounced, but their attitude towards each other requires neither apology nor concealment. Both the brothers were men of strong will, resolute purpose, and uncompromising devotion to duty. Neither of them had anything to concede to the other in intimate knowledge of the country, the language, and its people. But Henry's sympathies with the leaders of a warlike race, and his inborn tenderness for the fallen, made him specially alive to the consequences which measures of punishment, pacification, and even reform necessarily entail upon individuals and vested rights. If those sympathies were at times overstrained, it must

be remembered that the deeply-seated admiration with which he inspired the Sikh nobles conduced perhaps more than anything else to reconcile them to our rule ; and that his foresight in this direction was no less the foresight of a statesman than that of his brother, more immediately addressed towards practical issues. John saw vividly the benefits of peace, order, and administrative purity, and the blessings, even though they were not expressed or formulated by a contented peasantry, of relief from high-handed duress ; and he never flinched because such results must be accompanied by wringings of the heart. If his nature had not that perfect genius for sympathy which was conspicuous in his brother, it was full of the truest tenderness, a tenderness which showed itself not least in the resolution with which he fixed his eye upon the masses rather than on the few, and upon the permanent well-being rather than on the passing troubles through which society could alone reach the desired end. That the Punjab was governed wisely and well during the administration of the Board is the best proof that neither Henry nor John failed in his duty. The credit of a success which has never been exceeded in the annals of an Indian province belongs to each of them in equal degree, and posterity, which inherited the rich legacy of their labours and of their differences, can only be thankful for the noble sacrifices made by the two brothers on the altar of public interest.

Fortunate it was for them and for the service of their country that they could bring their differences of opinion to the ear of a Governor-General so high-minded and so strong as the Marquis of Dalhousie. Towards the close of November, 1849, John Lawrence poured out his heart to his chief. He wrote to tell him of the pain which it

gave him to be in constant opposition to his brother ; adding that, if he could be otherwise provided for, he would be glad to be relieved of his duties on the Board. He further expressed his strong desire to put aside his own interests rather than injure his brother in any respect. Lord Dalhousie, who never shirked an unpleasant business, sent for John Lawrence, and frankly told him his own feelings. What passed between the Governor-General and his subordinate, destined at no distant date to succeed him in his high office, is thus related by the former :—

I told him he had established far too strong a claim on the consideration of the Government to admit of its acting upon its abstract right by *ordering* him to remain in a position that was disagreeable to him. But I added that if he did leave the Board, he must not suppose that he was thereby smoothing away every difficulty. I told him that, on the contrary, his leaving the Board would only have the effect of breaking up the concern altogether ; because Sir Henry's opinions and mine on the matters of government were so opposed that, without John Lawrence's counteracting and modifying influence, we should come into direct collision within a month. I urged him therefore not to ask to leave the Board, on the ground that his leaving it would not remove the existing embarrassments, and on the ground that it was not for his own interest to do so. I recited to him my reasons for assenting to the establishment of a Board, namely, that Sir Henry Lawrence as a single officer, to whose services I was previously bound, would not have been, in my eyes, sufficient for the task. I assured him that no one else should be preferred to him for the single Commissionership which, in the event of Sir Henry's departure, I intended to establish.

To such an appeal addressed to his sense of duty and loyalty John Lawrence could give only one answer ; and fortunately for the crisis of the mutiny, when he turned to account the weapon of commanding influence over the Punjab which Lord Dalhousie had placed in his

strong hands, Henry's brother agreed to remain on the Board; and though each continued with a singleness of heart to fight for his own view of right, between the strenuous blows which they showered upon the hard questions brought before them, the system of government was worked into shape, and the latest acquisition of the Company was soon enjoying a far better administration than Bengal.

In filling up the ranks of the new provincial organisation Lord Dalhousie was determined to select the best men available in all branches of the public service. To Thomason he wrote on the 24th of March, 1849, "I regard your province as the mine out of which I may dig good public servants." That such would be his guiding principles all who knew him would readily take for granted. Yet the *Englishman*, a Calcutta newspaper, had the impudence to inform its readers that "the Governor-General has given out that he will appoint to the new offices his own countrymen on account of the place of their birth, irrespective of their character and qualifications." The method adopted by Lord Dalhousie in itself precluded any resort to jobbery. Of the civil officers he selected one only, George Couper; "and I would not," he writes, "have named him had he not been well reported upon by his superior at Dinajpur before I left Bengal." The rest of those belonging to that service were chosen by John Lawrence and Elliot, after a solemn injunction laid upon them to select no one except for merit. When the list was provisionally made out, Lord Dalhousie went over it with his colleagues, and in only four cases was he called upon to decide between them. From Henry Lawrence, to whom a similar injunction was addressed, he obtained a list of military officers to serve in quasi-military positions or

in the police. In this way, seventy-four covenanted and commissioned officers were picked out. The fact that the officers thus chosen represented both branches of the Government service is easily explained without ascribing to the Governor-General a flash of genius in the discovery of a new system. Still less reason is there for imagining that he acted "in masterful opposition to the Commander-in-Chief."¹ For his journal shows that the selection of officers had commenced before he met Sir Charles Napier. It is true that Napier would have preferred the system he himself had introduced in Sind; and Lord Dalhousie records his adverse criticisms upon the admixture of civilians and military men. But the Governor-General's plans were settled before Lord Gough left, and while on the one hand the civil service was not manned to an extent that would enable it single-handed to administer the province, it would on the other have been a waste of good material not to employ soldier politicals like Edwardes, Abbott, and others already on the spot, men well-versed in the tenures of the country and the customs of the people, more especially as for some time to come both civil and military functions would devolve upon the local authorities. In Henry and John Lawrence at the head of affairs the two branches of the service were not only severally represented, but in each of them the best qualities of both services were blended together and combined. The most obvious plan was to carry out the same principle in the subordinate ranks of the new administration.

Having arranged for the machinery of his provincial Government, which included the four Commissioners of Lahore, Jhelum, Multan, and Leia, with some fifty assistants, the Governor-General turned his attention

¹ *Dalhousie*, by W. W. Hunter, p. 86.

to the more difficult question of the military forces. Here also he had to build on other men's foundations, as he thus explains :—

With the sanction of the Resident, Edwardes, Taylor, Abbott, and George Lawrence, who were detached during the troubles of last year, raised levies to protect themselves and preserve, if possible, their hold of the country. Some of the Darbar regiments remained faithful also. To the whole of these regiments service hereafter was guaranteed. To many of the levies service was either positively or constructively promised. Much as I disliked the promise having been made, I felt that good faith must be kept, and I confirmed the promise. The officers of the army and the newspapers object. Their cue is to urge the necessity of an increase to the regular regiments of the line. Thence would result large promotion. Others object to these corps from the nature of them, and of these objectors is the new Commander-in-Chief. Most people object from the erroneous idea that they are Sikh corps. They are nothing of the sort. I have prohibited more than one-tenth being Sikhs, which will keep the total number of Sikhs in the five regiments at 400.

Under the system which Lord Dalhousie introduced, the Board was empowered to raise ten regiments, five of cavalry and five of infantry, for the protection of the whole western frontier except Peshawar, which was to be held by the regular army. Colonel George Lawrence, aided by Captain Daly, Major Keeler, Captain Prendergast, Captain Dawson, and Captain Fitzgerald either raised or commanded the cavalry regiments of 588 sabres each. The complement of the infantry regiments was fixed at 800 privates, the five of them being commanded by about a hundred Native officers, with four European officers to each regiment. Three horse field-brigades, two companies of sappers and miners, and, last but not least, a camel corps and the celebrated Guides completed the force. After

correspondence with the Commander-in-Chief, the ten irregular regiments were ultimately placed under his orders, and a large force of regular troops was detailed to help in maintaining order and peace in the newly annexed area of 50,400 square miles. The Guide corps had originally been raised in 1846 at the suggestion of Sir Henry Lawrence. Lord Dalhousie recognised its value, and increased its strength to 840 men under four European officers, of whom Lumsden and Hodson are best known to fame. Composed of elements representing most of the untamed warlike tribes of the mountainous border, men who knew intimately the features of the country and were able to speak its various dialects, the corps combined the qualities and resources of guides and scouts, with the courage, endurance, and training of trustworthy soldiers.

The opposition which the Governor-General encountered in organising this military force of some 11,000 men was not confined to India. The Secret Committee at home took up the cry, and expressed their repugnance to "raising Sikh regiments in the Punjab." Lord Dalhousie replied that the regiments were not Sikh, that guarantees given to faithful soldiers of the Lahore State and to levies raised by British officers must be kept, and that his measures were necessary and wise. Justice as well as time were on his side. For experience proved that other classes came forward but slowly for recruitment, and presently the Sikh element in each cavalry regiment was raised to 100, and in each infantry regiment to 200, men.

Side by side with the military organisation for guarding a frontier of 500 miles proceeded the establishment of a police force. Except in the country beyond the Indus and in Hazara, the population of the annexed

districts was disarmed, and nearly 120,000 arms were duly seized or surrendered. Moreover, while society had not shaken itself free from the lawless habits acquired during the events following upon the death of Ranjit Sing, the close of the war had thrown into its disorganised ranks at least 50,000 soldiers, with countless hangers-on and dismissed servants of the Sardars and members of the Government. A natural dislike of the foreigner and sentiments of revenge had to be apprehended, and there were many tribesmen beyond the borders of the Punjab who found in forays and raids into India a pleasanter means of livelihood than honest industry could afford. In organising the police the same course was pursued as in other branches of the service. Part of the force was preventive and had a military organisation; the other part was employed for civil purposes. The former consisted of six regiments of foot and twenty-seven troops of horse, four of these six being converted Sikh regiments that had remained faithful to the British. To the care of this force, counting 5400 infantry and 2700 cavalry, were entrusted jails, treasuries, frontier posts and city gates, with the duty of escort to civil officers and treasure in transit. The civil police, of about 7000 men, were distributed into 228 circles, and in controlling and handling this body great care was taken to utilise the local influence and knowledge of the Native collectors of land revenue. Both forces were exclusively placed under the orders of the Board of Administration.

Before these measures could be brought into working order, it became known that the wives of British officers and soldiers were already on their way to join their husbands at advanced posts. Orders were at once issued that those who had done so should return, and

that no others should proceed beyond Lahore without permission. This precaution led to much grumbling. But Lord Dalhousie justified his course in these words :—

The presence of women was one of the chief aggravations, if not a cause of the miseries of Kabul. The presence of Mrs. Lawrence and Mrs. Thompson and their children, prisoners with the Sikhs, was the sorest anxiety I had during the last campaign, and one of the greatest embarrassments under which the Government laboured. I will profit by experience, and neither expose myself nor others to the same evils again.

Since, however, the Governor-General had not previously issued orders on the subject, he paid the expenses of their return to Lahore for those who had already gone beyond it.

There were in all truth several smouldering embers of disturbance which Lord Dalhousie could not afford to disregard. The Maharani, as has already been told, was sent off from Govindghar to Benares. Notwithstanding the strict guard maintained over her and her retinue, a slave girl on her establishment managed to escape; and it was probable that her flight had been planned as a means of testing her mistress's chance of eluding the vigilance of her jailers. Major M'Gregor therefore removed the Maharani to the fort of Chunar for safer custody. But Her Highness also suddenly disappeared; and when a court of inquiry was held, it was proved that she had changed places with a sempstress whom the Native officer, never having seen his secluded prisoner, had innocently allowed to pass out through the iron gate. Nothing was heard of the fugitive until her arrival in Nepal was announced. Lord Dalhousie had sufficient imagination to realise the obligation which must compel the Nepal State to give asylum even to an unwelcome guest. He accordingly decided to leave her

alone. "I have not," he writes, "the least intention of going to war with Nepal for the Maharani Janda, so I have told the Court of Nepal that I do not meddle with her; but that, as she is a bitter enemy of the British Government, I hold Nepal, as a friendly power, responsible for her engaging in no intrigues against us and doing no mischief, while she is in their territory."

At the same time, since treasonable letters from her had been intercepted, the Governor-General confiscated the jewels she had left behind to the value of £90,000, and congratulated himself on also saving the reduced pension of Rs. 1000 a month hitherto allowed her.

The impending trial of Diwan Mulraj was a further element of possible disquietude. He had been sent from Multan to Lahore, there to await this issue, and on the 31st of May the Court entered upon its task. Lord Dalhousie had ordered that the accused should be allowed counsel; but the Diwan declined any such help at the hands of his own countrymen, and desired to be represented by John Lawrence or Major Edwardes. The choice of either of these officers was impossible, and Mulraj was much depressed at their refusal. As, however, he still pressed for the assistance of a British officer, Captain Hamilton was selected for the duty; and the trial, which lasted through the greater part of June, then proceeded on its course. The Court found the Diwan guilty and sentenced him to death, while recommending him to mercy as "having been the victim of circumstances." Lord Dalhousie gave anxious consideration to the case, feeling that if the crime had been committed while Mulraj was engaged in hostilities as a rebel, he could not fairly be treated as a murderer, since Sher Sing and other Sardars had been allowed to go free. Moreover, for the murder of Agnew, one culprit,

Gudhar Sing, had already been sentenced to death. The evidence convinced the Governor-General that the Diwan had not premeditated the slaughter of the two British officers, nor had he instigated the attack upon them as they left the fort. No doubt he was in command of the garrison when the assault was delivered on the Idgarh where the wounded officers lay, and had made no effort to save them; he had even rejected their overtures for help, and seduced their escort from their fidelity. But as it seemed clear that Mulraj could not in any case have stayed the fury of his fanatical followers, Lord Dalhousie gave him the benefit of the doubt, and remitting the death penalty, sentenced him to imprisonment for life, with banishment from India.

While the Governor-General thus intervened on the side of clemency in the case of Mulraj, his strong will made itself felt in dealing with the Sardars. These leaders in the rebellion had been sent to the places of residence allotted to them. There they were restricted to certain limits, not exceeding a mile and a half from their houses, and the names of the very few servants allowed to them were all registered. Their landed estates had been confiscated, and eleven lakhs of rupees thus rendered available for the good government of the country. Sher Sing and Chattar Sing were granted allowances of 200 rupees a month, and the rest of the Sardars received monthly stipends in proportion to their needs. For a time the conditions to which the pensioners had formally subscribed were duly observed by them. They had refrained from correspondence with those who had taken part in the war; they had reported the names of those who visited them from time to time; and they had remained within the prescribed limits. In the middle of September, however,

Diwan Hakim Rai, whom Lord Dalhousie described as "one of the greatest and cleverest rogues in the Punjab," was found out of bounds surrounded by a large gathering. A little later, Chattar Sing and Sher Sing chose the auspicious occasion of an eclipse of the moon to collect together at Atari, sixteen miles from Lahore, and to feed there a considerable number of Brahmans, although they had not obtained permission to do so. Brahmans were the chief agents by whom political schemes and plots were carried on, their sacred character giving them protection and access everywhere. The Rani Janda Khaur had by their means furthered and carried out her designs of intrigue and escape, and Henry Lawrence had expressly prohibited such assemblages. With quick intuition, Lord Dalhousie realised the danger, and ordered the Board to arrest the Sardars if the reports which had reached his ears should be confirmed. John Lawrence, on receipt of these orders, wrote a private letter to the Governor-General, telling him that his brother Henry was absent from the Board, and that Mansel questioned the expediency of so strong a measure. Lord Dalhousie's spirit of command ill-brooked remonstrance of this kind, and he immediately replied that the Board must leave it to him to judge of expediency and of public opinion. It was its duty to carry out his orders. But before this imperative command could reach the Board, Mansel had discovered that the offence of the Sardars was not so trivial, and he and his colleague had already made preparations for the arrest of the Sardars as soon as the festival of the Dasera was over. John Lawrence then acted with his accustomed vigour. At daylight on the 1st of October he appeared at Atari with a body of irregular cavalry, and by 11 A.M. Chattar Sing, with Sher Sing and his

brothers, was lodged in the fort at Lahore, whence, after some months, one and all were deported to Allahabad. Another party under Saunders arrested Lal Sing and Surat Sing Majithia, and in the house of the former several arms were found to be concealed. Hakim Rai and his sons were also seized, and papers were discovered compromising several of the gang.

The wisdom of these measures was confirmed shortly afterwards. For when, at the close of the year, Lord Dalhousie was marching through the Punjab, he met Captain Tytler, Assistant Commissioner of Kusur, accompanied by Narayan Sing, minister of Khan Sing of Atari, who had been staunch in his allegiance to the British, and learnt from them that the arrest of the Sardars had nipped in the bud a widespread expectation of renewed disturbances.

"The blow," as the diary says, "confounded and cowed them [the Sikhs]. They had looked to these men as their possible leaders, and the announcement of their seizure and expected banishment appears at present to have crushed all their hopes. The effect Tytler described as most striking, and he rejoices over the measure as calculated to exercise a most pacifying influence over the Sikh population in the Manjha. Captain Marsden volunteered to me afterwards the expression of a similar opinion. The effects, he said, were visible in his district of Pak Pattan before he heard of the event itself."

Lord Dalhousie's resolute action was, however, criticised at the time, and it is noteworthy that his previous clemency towards the Sardars had also been condemned in equally strong terms by the London press. The *Times* had then predicted the probability of a third Sikh war as the consequence of such misjudged leniency.

"They forgot," wrote Lord Dalhousie, "that it was the price of the recovery of our own countrymen who were prisoners. I

made a sacrifice, but I was of opinion that advantages commensurate with the sacrifice were gained. I thought so at the time, and now, when all alarm and anxiety regarding the fate of the prisoners have passed away, I am glad that I agreed to the proposal. I am blamed now for giving the Sardars too easy terms. What would the cry have been if I had chosen the opposite course? Suppose that Sher Sing had retired to Kabul with the prisoners, as I believe he would have done, what chance had I of preventing him?"

These extracts throw considerable light upon Lord Dalhousie's attitude of mind towards press criticism. And, so far from their indicating any morbid regard for public opinion, they will probably lead the impartial reader to the conviction that he was a man who preferred to think out his problems on paper, and that when once he had satisfied himself as to his reasons, he was singularly indifferent to newspaper comment. However that may be, neither the Indian nor the English press showed any backwardness in criticising his actions.

There is one other personage prominent in the stirring events of the years 1848-49, whose fate the reader will wish to learn before this chapter is closed. The Maharaja, now eleven years old, appeared to the Governor-General to be "a very engaging little boy, who has inspired me with a warm interest in his personal fortune and happiness." He was placed under the charge of Dr. Login, who found him not particularly clever, but intelligent, tractable, and amiable. He preferred hawking to riding, and was fond of animals, gardening, and quiet pursuits. From the first it had been felt that it was better not to keep him permanently at Lahore, and towards the end of the year John Lawrence told Lord Dalhousie that schemes had been on foot to carry him off. It was therefore decided to

remove him to Fatehgarh on the Ganges, where, in a house built for him under the directions of the Governor-General, he lived a happy and contented life. When, on the escape of the Maharani to Khatmandu, the boy was asked whether he felt the separation from his mother, he frankly replied in the negative, "adding that she had formerly brought discredit upon him, and that when he was with her she used to beat him every day." To Dr. Login his heart and tongue were ever open, and on one occasion he pointed out to his guardian the spot where the Khalsa had put to death Sardar Jowahar Sing, while he himself was in the howdah with him. He even identified the mahout then driving his elephant as the one who had been with him on that fatal occasion, and described fully circumstances which had occurred when he was seven years old. Lord Dalhousie was determined that the boy should be treated with all kindness and respect, and he paid especial attention to his education.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FIRST GRAND TOUR

Objects of Lord Dalhousie's tour, 1849—Regulations as to camp matters—Ludhiana and a drunken chaplain—Lord Dalhousie's views on military matters—Visit to Kapurthala—Cordial reception at Amritsar—Public functions at Lahore—The Maharaja and Sikh nobles—Visit to State prisoners—Reaches Multan—Return visit to Bahawalpur, 1850—The citadel of Multan inspected—Monument to memory of British officers—A ride to Dera Ghazi Khan—Receives Mir Ali Murad at Sakhar—Reaches Hyderabad—Lands at Bombay, 27th of January—Functions there—Members of the Government—Discussion of the Khairpur forgeries—The Koh-i-Nur handed over for transmission to England—Sails for Ceylon—The Strait-Settlements—Singapore, Malacca, and Penang—Maulmain, the farthest point of tour—Returns to Calcutta—Legislative measures—Act XXI. of 1850, Religious Disabilities Act—Disagreements in Council—Leaves for Simla, 13th of April—Profit and loss of the tour.

1849. ON the 27th of October, 1849, the babel of tongues raised by 9000 carriers, collected from the country round about Simla, announced that the Governor-General's departure was at hand. From this point of observation Lord Dalhousie had watched the floods of disorder ebbing from the Punjab, and the returning tide bringing peace and prosperity under the new administration. But, as we have seen, his ear had caught the jarring note of conflicting opinions in the discussions of the Board, and he felt that his personal influence might remove difficulties. He also wished to see with

his own eyes the needs and the resources of the province, to form his own opinion as to the character of its officials, and to give confidence to society by showing that he could move freely about in localities which had so lately been the theatre of war. It was his intention to reward the loyal, to certify to himself the condition and bearing of the rebel chiefs in prison, and by holding *darbars* and military reviews in the large centres of population, to impress those upon whom pageantry and display always exercise a great moral effect. His health was much improved, but Dr. Grant strongly advised him to seek change in camp, and to take a sea voyage from Karachi to Bombay, and from Bombay to Calcutta. As yet, he had not visited the Western Presidency, and there were various questions of policy upon which he desired to confer with its Government. A tour at this period of Indian history, when there were no railways, indifferent steamers on the Indus, and few first-class roads in the interior of the country, afforded unique opportunity for "sucking the experience of many," and Lord Dalhousie was not the man to "go hooded in his travails."

His thoughtfulness and consideration for others made him quick to realise the injury which the concourse of a large camp might inflict upon the country through which he must pass. Accordingly, he caused it to be proclaimed that any of his retinue who should be guilty of extortion or of damage to the crops or private property would be severely punished. He was even better than his word; for on the 24th of December at Sadhu Sarai he saw some of his men in the very act of forcibly removing the live stock and fuel of some poor villagers, and then and there chastised with his riding-whip "one of the vagabonds." He

took care that the village watchmen and guides should be paid for any services rendered by them ; and was much amused to find that his kindly thought was misunderstood, and his gifts returned to his aide-de-camp. On another point he was equally careful. For, in order that his tour should not prove a tax upon the officials through whose districts he travelled, he carried with him the means of entertaining them at his own table. In both these particulars it would have been well if his successors in office had uniformly followed Lord Dalhousie's example ; and the circumstance merits notice, because one of the newspaper reports circulated about the Governor-General unfairly charged him with parsimony.

Lady Dalhousie left Simla on the 1st of November with her husband, and the change of scene, as well as the bodily exercise, proved of great benefit to her health. She rode a horse, the "Knight Templar," which had belonged to Colonel Cureton, and was able to accomplish long marches without any outward signs of fatigue. She shared with her husband the discomforts of the tour, and the delay in the arrival of the English mail, to which, with its news of their children at Dalhousie Castle, both of them eagerly looked forward. A letter from his old college friend, Leslie, evokes the comment, "His description of the children is delightful. I call his kindness a true act of friendship, and appreciate it most highly." Into the spirit of such gratitude none can perhaps so fully enter as those who, separated from their children, have borne the burden and heat of Indian service.

Two incidents which occurred in the early part of the tour throw light upon the character of Lord Dalhousie. At Ludhiana, the first place of importance

reached in his tour, he was greatly shocked at the paucity of the congregation. But the explanation was soon supplied. In his own tent he witnessed the chaplain of the station, the Rev. Mr. B——, “as tipsy as any gentleman I have seen in that condition for some time.” He said grace after dinner, and then repeated it in the middle of the dessert, finally rolling about in the tent used as a sitting-room, and making himself offensive to every one. Inquiries proved that this was a common incident, and the Governor-General could not but view it as a grave scandal and impediment to the cause of religion. He therefore brought the matter to the notice of the Bishop.

The second occurrence was an application from Lieutenant Pakenham of his own escort for leave of absence of a fortnight to attend the races at Lahore. Lord Dalhousie thereon wrote to Major Mayne pointing out that the duty entrusted to this officer was attendance for a few weeks upon the Governor-General.

That the adjutant of the corps should think himself entitled, after four days of duty, to quit the camp for a fortnight for the purpose of riding horse-races, indicates to me an extent of idleness and indifference to duty which I do not choose to let pass in silence. If Lieutenant Pakenham is silly enough to spend his money on horse-races, it is no concern of mine; but when he has assurance enough to make that a plea for leaving his duty with my camp during a fortnight, I desire to intimate that that style of doing duty will not suit me.

No time was wasted on the line of march. Schemes of irrigation and public works were discussed on the spot with the Commissioner, M'Leod. General Wheeler was consulted as to the distribution of the military forces. Lord Hardinge preferred to divide the Native army, whereas his successor disliked excessive multi-

plication of stations, and desired the concentration of larger bodies. Lord Dalhousie felt that Native regiments, even when far apart, were in constant communication on all matters affecting their interests. If large numbers of men were stationed at one place, the contact between the troops and the country people was likely to be less close and less mischievous than if smaller bodies were scattered over a larger area. On other matters, such as the opinion entertained of the loyalty of the Maharaja Gulab Sing of Kashmir, and the treatment of the Sepoy army, he entered into frequent conversations with the civil and military authorities. He found a general agreement of opinion that the Maharaja was neither really intent upon mischief nor capable of causing it, and that while it was politic that the Native army should be treated with justice and patience, it would be a mistake to pet it. Sir Charles Napier had been using extravagant language in presenting new colours to the 41st Native Infantry at Delhi, when he told them that the Sepoys were better troops than any in the world except British troops. Lord Dalhousie reflected that of an army numbering 225,000 men, not 25,000 were British-born servants of the Queen, and the opinion of those he consulted strengthened his own views as to the impolicy of spoiling the Sepoy by such indulgences as hutting money, relief from stoppages, and, above all, Sind allowances.

At Kapurthala the Governor-General rejoiced the heart of the Raja by paying him a return visit. This chief had taken sides with the Sikhs in the war of 1846, and had been punished by the confiscation of part of his territory. But in 1849 he had been faithful in his allegiance to the British, and Lord Dalhousie was glad of the opportunity of investing him with a *khillat*,

or dress of honour, and of bestowing upon him other presents at a darbar held for the occasion.

Leaving Kapurthala and crossing the Beas river on the 20th of November, Lord Dalhousie planted foot for the first time on the soil of the province he had added to the empire. On the 22nd he reached Amritsar, where he singled out for special notice Sardar Jodh Sing, a typical Sikh with a white beard, and Jebar Sing, the commandant of a regiment of Khalsa infantry, both of whom had remained faithful in the stress of the late rebellion. The municipal improvement effected by the inhabitants under the advice of Mr. Saunders met with his highest approval; and to each of the commissioners, on quitting their wards, he presented a dress of honour. A disappointment which he met with at Amritsar, though trivial in itself, helps us in our reading of Lord Dalhousie's character, and proves him, by the light of modern practice, to have possessed more imagination and a greater power of entering into the feelings of the Indian people than his advisers. "I was very anxious," he writes, "to see the interior of the shrine [of the Golden Temple], and I confess that I saw no reason why I should not comply with the form prescribed and cover my shoes with a sock before entering the precincts of the temple, like everybody else. However, Mr. Saunders and the secretary deprecated my doing so, and as they are far better judges than I am of the effect which my compliance would have had, I submitted to their view." It will be seen that on his next visit to the holy shrine he wisely followed his own counsel, and put on a pair of velvet boots. From Amritsar the Governor-General visited the Govindghar fort, and examined carefully the accommodation for the troops. He also rode out to see

the Hasli Canal, lunching at the garden-house of Lehna Sing, and on this occasion he deliberately took with him the small escort of four troopers only of his body-guard. At night he proceeded on an elephant to view the illumination of Amritsar, by innumerable earthen saucers filled with oil and lighted up with a wick, which were placed along the corners of the houses and the sills of their windows. The people, who crowded the streets, received their conqueror in profound but respectful silence. "Five hundred times over," he writes, "any man among them might have shot me that night, for I could almost have shaken hands with the denizens of the houses on either hand as I passed; and there would not have existed the smallest possibility of detection. Yet not one rude word was heard, not a single sound of discontent."

On the 27th of November the Governor-General camped near Shalimar, outside Lahore. Here he was met by General Gilbert, a man of high bred and gentle demeanour, with the bearing of a soldier of the best school, who, notwithstanding his sixty-five years of age, had just won a racing cup on one of his own horses. Sir Walter Gilbert's relations with the Board were of the most cordial character, and the veteran soldier lost no time in assuring Lord Dalhousie that he did not share the alarmist views regarding the intentions of Maharaja Gulab Sing, or the prospect of further rebellious movements which Sir Charles Napier was publicly expressing. The Commander-in-Chief, it may be mentioned, was following up Lord Dalhousie with a small camp and a studied avoidance of both dignity and comfort. The Governor-General entered Lahore in full state and with a grand military display on the 28th of November. On the previous night John

Lawrence had arrested several emissaries of the notorious Bhai Maharaj, last heard of as sinking in the river Chenab, who had since come to life and resumed his treasonable practices. John Lawrence was, however, no less convinced than Gilbert of the extravagance of the views expressed by Sir Charles Napier regarding the dangerous state of affairs in India. As to his own difficult relations with his brother, Lord Dalhousie's visit gave him the opportunity of explaining how matters stood, with the result that the latter writes: "The high opinion I had before conceived of John Lawrence's character and capacity has been much raised by what I have lately seen of him and heard from others." A visit to the soldiers' garden which Henry Lawrence had commenced some years before, and which had now become a popular resort for the garrison, impressed the Governor-General with the high moral value of such places of healthy amusement, and led him to order¹ that similar gardens should be laid out at every station held by European troops. Excursions were made to the tomb of Jahangir, and to other objects of interest in the neighbourhood. On some of these occasions Lady Dalhousie accompanied her husband, and she made a point of inspecting with him the jewels in the *toshakhana*² received from time to time in return for presents with which it was customary for the Government to honour natives of rank. Among such jewels the Koh-i-Nur naturally attracted most attention. As then seen, it was a rose-cut diamond set in an armlet between two other large diamonds, with a slight garniture of enamel. It

¹ See vol. ii. chap. viii. p. 297.

² An office in which presents received are deposited, and those to be given kept in store.

was worn fastened round the arm by crimson silk strings, each of which ended in a tassel of pearls. Numerous other gems, the Sea of Light (a table-cut diamond), a small cup made of a single emerald, and two strings of pearls, matchless in size and beauty, were hardly less conspicuous than the Mountain of Light. The value of the collection was estimated at £350,000.

The first public function was the reception of the young Maharaja, introduced by Henry Lawrence. His restful manner and easy self-possession, his pleasing cast of countenance, enhanced by the gorgeous dress and the diamond star and chains of pearls which he wore, and his winning grace, combined to make a favourable impression upon Lord Dalhousie. When the latter found himself greeted with a bright smile and the words, "I am very happy to see you here," his thoughts went back to what he had taken from the child, "and," he writes, "for a moment my words were checked, and I could not help putting my arm round his neck and drawing him to me." When the Maharaja had left the darbar, the Sardars and chiefs were presented by John Lawrence. So keen was the observation, and so ready the pen of the Governor-General, that he has left on record a full description of the chief Sardars whom he met, together with such anecdotes as he heard about them. The good-humoured but coarse-looking Tej Sing, the intellectual and dignified Dina Nath, the stupid Bhai Nidhan Sing, the Sikh archbishop, the handsome Fakir Nur-ud-din, "the picture of an Eastern courtier," Sher Mahomed Talpur, who having crossed swords at Hyderabad with Sir Charles Napier, was now received by his victor with open arms, and a perfect giant of a Pathan with his right arm hanging powerless

by his side from a sword-cut received when fighting for Edwardes, were a few of the leading characters depicted in the Governor-General's portrait gallery. The reception was followed by a triumphal progress through the city, illuminated for the occasion. Everywhere Lord Dalhousie was met with cheerful looks. He, on his part, knowing how large a part personal feeling plays in the loyal sentiments of eastern people, determined to miss no opportunity of allowing all classes of the population to see him and to render homage to their new ruler. Everyday, in fact, except Sunday, brought with it some fresh display. The return visit to the Maharaja, large dinner-parties, a review of the troops, and an investiture ceremony in honour of Sir J. Littler and Sir W. Gilbert, were among the functions which filled up the time. On the last of these occasions Lord Dalhousie introduced a change, omitting the usual practice of addressing the new knights and receiving a speech from them. "I disapproved of the custom," he writes, "as at variance with the proper form of the Order. If pains were taken, it gave to the Governor-General the appearance of making himself the most conspicuous figure in the scene instead of the knights who were to be honoured. On the other hand, the custom was objectionable to the knights. Old soldiers are rarely speakers, and to a modest man like Sir J. Littler or Sir W. Gilbert the idea of making a speech is horrible." In this matter, as in many others of greater importance, Lord Dalhousie introduced a new departure which most of his successors in office have wisely continued to follow.

Lahore was not left without a visit to the State prisoners, whom the Governor-General wished to see, in order that he might hear any complaints or requests

they might have to make. Chattar Sing's bearing was respectful but manly, "without the least approach to supplication, far less to servility." "He is a fine-looking old man with a good brow, aquiline features, and a mild dignified countenance. His voice was deep and loud, his expression deliberate yet animated, and his manner had all the measured grace which so marks the race." The old man returned to his quarters with perfect dignity, and without making either request or complaint. Sher Singh, on the other hand, was a common-looking person with a mild voice and an intelligent countenance. His only request was, that if he were kept a prisoner, he should be allowed to go out for *shikar*. Mulraj was "a small-limbed, slight-made man, his face gaunt and haggard, and rendered more wild by the peculiarity of one eye being much smaller than the other. The expression of the mouth was gentle, and his countenance, by the aid of fine teeth and a long black beard, would have been attractive but for the peculiarities described. As it was, the haggard features, the worn emaciated fingers, and frame tottering from weakness, even as he sate, were painful to look upon." Having become a devotee, and passing his life in prayer and fasting, Mulraj looked forward with intense misery to the degradation of being transported. It was distressing to the Governor-General to be forced to say to each one of the prisoners that he had no choice but to carry out the sentences already passed upon them. But he did all in his power to alleviate their anxieties about their families, to assure them as to the restoration of certain personal property to their relations, and to make such other concessions to them as were possible. He further took measures for their proper treatment in Calcutta, and directed

that Mulraj should undergo medical examination before being sent across the sea.

Having completed his programme at Lahore, Lord Dalhousie set out for Multan on the 8th of December, well pleased with all that he had seen. The fact that he had frequently ridden about the country wearing his star, and thus being easily identified, while he took with him only two *sowars* and a single aide-de-camp, impressed him with the vigour and activity of those who in so comparatively short a time had ensured good order in the Punjab. In his onward progress through the newly-acquired territory, he followed the same rule of personal observation, learning from the district officers who accompanied him fresh lessons as to the wants and the condition of the people. A fall from his horse, which put its foot into a concealed hole, and the death of one of his attendants, killed by an elephant, were the only untoward events of his march. As he looked round the country from Harappa, with its bare gloomy jungle, he cheered himself with the hope that his successors would see from it a teeming plain made by British rule to smile and blossom like the rose. This forecast has been so far fulfilled, that 5,000,000 acres are now under irrigation in the Punjab, of which 760,000 are watered by the Bari Doab canal alone.

At last, on the 29th of December, the appearance on the horizon of date groves, solitary mosques, and dilapidated tombs, gave token of near approach to Multan, and soon the citadel itself stood out clear above the trees before the Governor-General's gaze. The camp was pitched close to the Idgarh where the wounded British officers had been cruelly put to death, the gallows still standing on which one of the murderers had lately expiated his crime. Brigadier Stalker took

Lord Dalhousie over the field of the late military operations, where the scene of wreck and desolation spread out before his eye confirmed the estimate he had from the first formed as to the difficulties of the siege. The Nawab of Bahawalpur was received with ceremony, and rewarded by every polite attention as well as by more substantial marks of favour. General von Cortlandt, then Deputy-Commissioner of Dera Ghazi Khan, an intelligent-looking man with a long beard, with much more of the outward appearance of a Sikh general than of an English Deputy-Commissioner, attracted the particular notice of the Governor-General.

The eventful year of 1849 closed upon Lord Dalhousie in his tent at Multan, and the associations of the place set him thinking upon his difficulties as well as his successes. His mind went back to the gloom of Chilianwalla, the perplexities through which he had passed in deciding upon annexation, and the public evidence of his country's approval afforded by the action of Parliament and the Court of Directors, and by the tone of the press. In his earnest way he examined his own conscience and felt satisfied with his own conduct, and grateful to Providence for the improvement in the health of his wife and good news of his children. One cloud only appeared on the horizon. He could not blind his eyes to the fact, that without having any specific disease, his whole constitution was shaken. But the tour had effected a steady improvement, and he added : "In every respect, public and private, the year closes well with me, and I render humbly and heartily due thanks to Him who has caused it to issue in my prosperity."

1850. On the first day of the new year, 1850, Lord Dalhousie returned the visit of the Nawab of Baha-

walpur, when he was surprised to learn that, notwithstanding the cordiality of his late reception, His Highness was alarmed and suspicious. The Governor-General therefore endeavoured to reassure his host by taking no escort with him except his own bodyguard. The suspicions aroused he attributed to the fact that when the Nawab had proposed to bring with him several thousands of men and twelve guns to meet the Governor-General, it had been intimated that a much smaller retinue would suffice. Bahawal Khan was somewhat fidgety during the interview, and complained that he was no longer able to eat nine *seers* (eighteen pounds) of food a day or drink his bottle and a half of country liquor as he used to do. He suffered from burning fever in the soles of his feet and from bleeding at the nose. Before parting, Lord Dalhousie requested Dr. Grant to send him "eighty pills as a present."

A thorough inspection of the citadel disclosed the fact that if the column of assault had been forced to mount the breach, they would have encountered a formidable obstacle in a bank of solid earth scarped all round and crowned by a strong wall. Several guns were trained on the summit of the breach, and heavy losses would have been inevitable. Almost the last act of Lord Dalhousie at Multan was to visit the rude tombs of Agnew and Anderson, and that of his school-fellow, Montizambert, who had been killed in the course of the siege, and to give orders for raising a suitable monument over their remains in the esplanade of the citadel. After this he rode to the Blue Mosque, the last resting-place of the holy man to whom the people of Multan had refused fire for cooking purposes; a refusal which he avenged by calling down the sun to his aid, and leaving it to scorch the churlish inhabitants and

their posterity for all time to come. The landing-place on the Chenab river, the Raj Ghat, was reached at 10 A.M., and the journey down the river in a flat towed by a steamer was then commenced.

The usual strandings on the shallow sandy bed, and the tedious delays and mistakes inseparable from a voyage down the Indus and its tributaries made time hang heavily. But on the 3rd of January Lord Dalhousie carried out his intention of paying a flying visit to Dera Ghazi Khan. This was a matter of no ordinary difficulty and fatigue, involving as it did the crossing of two branches of the Indus, with rides through pathless tracts and heavy sandhills. A small escort of four Irregular horsemen and two wild Pathans accompanied the party. By riding sixty-two miles in one day, of which fifty were on horseback and twelve on an elephant, the journey out and back was accomplished, and the vessel regained at 9 P.M. on the 5th of January.

"The trip," writes Lord Dalhousie, "was a delightful one. There was something of dash and novelty in it, skying about in this new, wild, country with half a dozen horsemen, and far from the cumbrous state and attendance which a Governor-General can so rarely get rid of. I had the feeling too that the visit would do good to the place to which it was paid, and that the news of it would spread. I enjoyed myself thoroughly, and had as happy a day as I have spent this many a year."

Passing the junction of the Satlaj with the Chenab, Lord Dalhousie remarked that the waters of the former, even with the Beas added to them, made no appreciable difference in the volume of the latter. With the people of the country that river, known to the classical world as the Acesines, still retained its name of Chenab, although geographers have tried to rob it of distinctive title and have called the united streams the Panjnad.

Off Mithankot on the Indus the wrong channel was taken by the boats, and their course had to be retraced up the Chenab before the *Beas* flat could pass the town. Kashmor on the Sind frontier was reached on the 11th of January; at Sakhar, where two days later the Governor-General was met by Mr. Pringle, the Commissioner of the province, a halt was made. Here Lord Dalhousie received in darbar the Amir of Khairpur, Mir Ali Murad, a picturesque and historic chief once known to many still living. As we shall presently see more of him, it may be worth while to give the personal description left to us by Lord Dalhousie's pen :—

Ali Murad is a tall and good-looking man of 38 or 40, with strong aquiline features, brown hair and beard, and a mild but most cunning eye. His manners are exceedingly courtly, and not inferior to those of any chief I have seen in India. He wore a handsome choga of embroidered gold-work, and some emeralds round his neck, and on his head the peculiar Sind topee, like a European hat without a brim and formed of cloth of gold. His two sons were good-looking, intelligent lads. Conversation was kept up for some time. It was even more namby-pamby than usual; for there are some ticklish questions which remain to be settled between the Governments respecting his territory, and it was expedient to keep as far as possible from any topics connected with them. He was very ready, however, very lively, had plenty to say, and seemed in good humour.

After his departure, another reception was held for the frontier chiefs, "plain in their dress, but bold, independent-looking fellows." Then followed the return visit to the Mir, noticeable for the extremely valuable gifts presented by His Highness, although he had been asked to make none; and also for the fact that he desired to have a private conversation upon the matters in dispute with the Government of Bombay, a favour which Lord Dalhousie was obliged to refuse.

Leaving Sakhar, "the prettiest place I have yet seen in India," the Governor-General on the 15th of January proceeded in his flat down the Indus, with Mr. Pringle in another flat following him. Passing Sehwan and its old castle, which by common tradition was said to have been built by Alexander the Great, the party next halted at Hyderabad in Sind. Visiting the new barracks here, Lord Dalhousie admired the arrangements for married men's quarters introduced by Sir Charles Napier, and took the opportunity of despatching to Calcutta a minute on the subject. In this province, the scene of the Commander-in-Chief's campaign, his fame was naturally much in men's mouths; so much so, that Lord Dalhousie learnt from Captain Rathbone that by the Sindis he was generally known as the "Helion," a soubriquet the hill-men had accentuated by styling him "the Destroyer." After an inspection of the fort and city, the Governor-General received at a levée the Mirs and principal landowners of the district, whose dignified and courteous manners much impressed him. Resuming his journey, he passed by Thatta, lying five miles from the bank of the river, which had deserted it. Then with tortuous progress among the tidal creeks, he reached the open sea, and in due time arrived at Karachi, as yet unconscious of its coming glory,—“an inconsiderable place built entirely of mud lying at the bottom of the basin.” Here the Governor-General stayed as the guest of Mr. Pringle until the 23rd, and at his house held a levée to receive the Jam of the Jokrias.

On the 27th of January Lord Dalhousie disembarked from the s.s. *Firoze*, sent to convey him from Karachi, and landed in Bombay at the Apollo Bandar, where he was met by the Governor, Lord Falkland, the Com-

mander-in-Chief of the Presidency, Sir Willoughby Cotton, Mr. Willoughby, Member of Council, and other high officials. He remained in the capital of Western India until the 1st of February, and made full use of his time. Visits were exchanged with the Gaekwar of Baroda, a levée was held in the Town Hall, schools were inspected, and an address received from the inhabitants. The diary shows that he was greatly struck with the beautiful scenery of the harbour, the substantial, well-built, houses, which contrasted so strongly with the crowded "hovels" of Calcutta, and with the smart, neat appearance of the Parsis. Among these latter was Jamsetji Jijibhai, of whose benevolence and amiable disposition he had formed a high opinion, and whom he was now glad to see in person. Nor were weightier matters neglected. The Governor-General sat in Council with the Government of Bombay, and heard their views and explained his own on the subject of Mir Ali Murad's forgeries, and the annexation of Satara. On the latter subject Mr. Bartle Frere had held strong views, and "expressed them with sufficient vivacity and persistency to bring upon him a rebuke. He is a shy, gentlemanly man, and holds a high reputation in the Presidency, which I daresay he deserves." "Mr. Willoughby I think very able and clear. He is evidently the *decus columenque rerum* in that Government." It is worthy of note that Lord Dalhousie regularly recorded his opinion of the chief officials whom he met, and this was one secret of his success in the exercise of his powers of patronage. He formed strong views as to the advantage of choosing from time to time for the governorships of Bombay and Madras distinguished members of their civil services. He felt that it was unfair to those services that men should be regularly sent out from

England, frequently without any special qualification, to administer the governments of the minor presidencies, when the Company could select from the ranks of its own servants, past or present, much abler governors. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Thomas Munro, and James Thomason were in his opinion the type of administrators required, and in his letters to the Chairman of the Court of Directors he frequently referred to the mistake made by the Company in passing over their picked men and depriving them of the highest offices in Madras and Bombay.

Of the two important matters which the Governor-General discussed in Bombay, one, the annexation and administration of Satara, will be considered in a future chapter. The story of the Khairpur scandal may be told here. Mir Ali Murad belonged to that branch of the Talpur family, the ruling dynasty of Sind, which reigned at Khairpur. He was a younger son, but by a mixture of diplomacy and hard blows he had induced Rustam, his elder brother, to resign to him the "turban" or sovereign powers, and to cede to him "with his free will" several villages, including the *deh* or village of Mathela. This cession was embodied in the Treaty of Naunahar, written, as is usual, in the blank leaves of a Korán. Soon afterwards the Amirs and the British Government came to blows, and the battles of Miani and Dabo left the Company masters of Sind. The possessions of Ali Murad were confirmed to him, the rest of the province being confiscated in 1842 by the British. It thus became a matter of interest to the ruler of Khairpur to establish his right to as much territory as possible, and so to exclude it from the effect of the proclamation of the 18th of December, 1842. Aided by his Prime Minister, Sheikh Ali Hasan, and by his

secretary Pir Ali, the Mir substituted for the page of the Korán another leaf, which by changing the word *deh* into *Pargana* or "district," and the word *bemarzi*, signifying "with my free will," into *Meharki*, and by another slight change, altered the grant from the cession of a single village Mathela to that of three districts, namely, Mirpur, Mathela, and Meharki. By this fraud he got possession of lands of considerable value. Unfortunately he forgot that an authentic copy of the Treaty of Naunahar had been deposited in the British archives of Sind in 1843, that he had previously written a letter to the authorities inconsistent with the new leaf, and that other public records disproved his claim. Moreover, he had not calculated upon the weakness of his minister, and the Pir, who confessed the parts which they had taken in the disgraceful transaction. Sir Charles Napier had brought his suspicions to the notice of the Government of Bombay, and Sir George Clerk, had, in 1848, reported the matter to the supreme Government. But the Punjab war rendered it undesirable to take action at that moment. Accordingly on his visit to Sind Lord Dalhousie inspected the papers, and having satisfied himself as to the probability of the truth of the accusations, discussed the question with the Government of Bombay. He proposed that a commission of inquiry should be appointed, and directed that every facility should be afforded to the Mir for explanation. The report of the commissioners, Mr. Pringle, Major Lang, and Major Jacob, and the opinion of the Government of Bombay were alike adverse to the Mir, and on the 27th of February, 1851, the Governor-General reviewed the correspondence in a comprehensive minute. While he found His Highness guilty of fraud, he was opposed to dethroning Mir Ali Murad. "The lapse of

time will justify any leniency with which the State may be disposed to treat the crime." Nor was he disposed to withdraw the title of Rais while leaving the Mir ruler of Khairpur. But he was prepared to insist upon restitution of the lands and of the profits of this illegal occupation, and to impose upon him the forfeiture of a part of his possessions. The Court of Directors were not so lenient as the Governor-General, for on the 24th of September, 1851, they ordered that Mir Ali should not only surrender the possessions fraudulently acquired, but that he should forfeit the turban and title of Rais of Upper Sind, and that his authority should be confined to the possessions inherited by him from his father Mir Sohrab of Khairpur.

Almost the last act of Lord Dalhousie in Bombay was to entrust the Koh-i-Nur diamond to Colonel Mackeson and Captain Ramsay for conveyance to England on board H.M. ship *Medea*, as a present from the Court of Directors to her Majesty the Queen. He had received the jewel at Lahore on the 7th December, and had given to Dr. Login a formal receipt witnessed by the two Lawrences, Mansel, and Elliot. The tassels of the armlet in which the diamond was set had been cut off, to diminish the bulk, and Lady Dalhousie had enclosed the armlet with its jewel in a leather bag, this again being sewed into a Kashmir belt lined with chamois leather which he wore by day and night. Two dogs, Baron and Banda, were chained to the Governor-General's camp-bed, and, so far as he knew, no one but his wife and Captain Ramsay was in the secret of the jewel's concealment. On setting out for his ride to Dera Ghazi Khan through the wild country that had to be traversed, he thought it wiser to leave the belt in that officer's charge; but this was the only occasion on

which it had quitted his person, and on his arrival in Bombay it was a relief to him to make over custody of the precious burden. Whether his elaborate precautions were dictated by knowledge of the risks which the stone had run while in the hands of John Lawrence, is a question that will naturally occur to the reader of Bosworth Smith's interesting *Life of Lawrence*, but upon this the accounts now before me throw no light.

Resuming his voyage in the *Firoze*, after an unusually warm and loyal reception in Bombay, Lord Dalhousie coasted along the Konkan, watching Goa and the Malabar shores from the deck of his vessel, and putting in at Colombo for a few hours. No one, "neither master, attendant, nor anybody else" took notice of his brief stay, and he left the community asleep as he found it. At Galle he was joined by his secretary Halliday, who was to accompany him on his visit to the Strait-Settlements. The Malay Peninsula, as it was then called, was part of the Company's possessions, for it was not until April, 1867, that the Settlements became a Crown Colony under the Colonial Office. The Company had obtained its footing at various periods, the island of Penang, or the Prince of Wales's Island, being acquired in 1785 from the Raja of Khedah, who in 1798 further ceded a tract of country on the mainland known as Province Wellesley. Malacca, which had formerly been the centre of commerce between the East and the West, and was then reputed to contain a population of a million, had now greatly fallen from its ancient state. It had changed hands more than once since its capture in 1511 by the Portuguese under Alphonso d'Albuquerque. The fame of that great leader, of whom the King of Portugal said, that "as long as his bones are there India is safe," is

still remembered along the seaboard of India at Diu, Goa, Cochin, and Malacca. His fanatical intolerance of Mahomedans, his reckless breach of faith, and his love of plunder were as conspicuous as his courage and resource. With only 1100 men he had wrested Malacca from the forces of its Sultan, exceeding 39,000 men, and carried off treasure estimated at one million sterling, all of which was lost in a shipwreck. From the Portuguese the place passed into the hands of the Dutch; was wrested from them by the British in 1795; restored a little later on; and finally, by the treaty of the 17th of March, 1824, became a British possession. Five years before this last event Singapore was acquired from the Raja of Johore, with whom the East India Company had concluded a treaty of peace and friendship in 1818.

On his arrival at Singapore on the 13th of February Lord Dalhousie was suffering from a large boil on his forehead which caused him considerable pain. But he did not spare himself. A levée, the reception of the Chamber of Commerce, a masonic entertainment, and visits to the prisons, hospitals, and schools were endured without a murmur. The prosperity of the town, which "only thirty years ago was no better than a piratical fishing village," its well-appointed carriages drawn by Achin ponies, and its industrious Chinese, who "landed in the settlement at the rate of 15,000 a year," not counting their families, attracted his notice. He was pleased with the country and with the courtesy displayed by the priests in showing him over their temples, but above all with "the most diverting and picturesque darbar I have yet seen in India." For the Chinese ladies asked permission to send their children to visit Lady Dalhousie.

They were all little things, boys and girls alike. The boys had their little heads shaved as bare as turnips, and with the mandarin robes in miniature and conical caps with coloured buttons, their little fans waving in their hands, and the loitering walk which they executed on enormously thick-soled shoes. The dress of the girls was much more graceful. They wore their hair, of which most of them had quantities. Their dresses were of rich stuffs, covered with embroidery reaching to their feet, and on their heads each wore a sort of diadem-shaped head-dress, generally set with diamonds and other jewels, and adorned behind with artificial flowers.

On the 21st the vessel cast anchor in the harbour of Malacca, but Lord Dalhousie's boil was so much inflamed, and his whole face so swollen, that his wife went ashore without him. The population showed unmistakable marks of its mixed Dutch and Portuguese origin, and numerous churches bore testimony to the occupation of the place by these races. On the following day the Governor-General landed, but his pleasure was marred by an untoward accident. In firing a salute from the *Firoze* a seaman named Maxwell was severely wounded by the bursting of the gun. Both his arms were blown off, one eye was destroyed, and his chest injured. Carried on shore to the hospital at Penang, he was visited by Lord Dalhousie, who promised him a pension for life. After this, a darbar was held for the reception of the Raja of Selangore, a "dissipated, gambling, cock-fighting old scamp, who was shrewdly suspected of being a pirate himself."

Penang was reached on the 24th, and the Governor-General proceeded to visit the spots which his father and his mother had made familiar to him from their stay there in 1830. Their glowing description of the place was fully borne out by the beauty of the bay, the luxuriance of the rice-fields and spice plantations, and

the richness of the mountain scenery. Here he received the Raja of Khedah, a prince of high character and intelligence, well dressed and well mannered. This chief had certain claims upon the Company's treasury, into which, as they seemed to be well founded, the Governor-General promised to look on his return to Calcutta. During his inspection of the lunatic asylum, Lord Dalhousie noticed that the pigtails of the inmates were all cut off, a necessary precaution, he was informed, to prevent them from hanging themselves by these personal adornments. The following extract summarises the impressions derived from this visit to the Strait-Settlements :—

My impressions are most agreeable. Our voyage has been easy, the scenery delightful, the people and manners we have met with have been new and most interesting. I have conceived a favourable opinion of the mode in which the Government has been administered, and of the officers who administer it. I have seen deficiencies and I hope to remedy them; I have seen redundances and I hope to curtail them. Publicly I have good reason to be satisfied with my visit; while personally I have every right to be justly gratified by the kindly feeling manifested towards me.

Amherst in Burma was next reached, and Lord Dalhousie was transferred to the steamer *Proserpine*, on which he proceeded with Major Boyle, Commissioner of the Tenasserim provinces, to Maulmain, some twenty-six miles up the river Salween. In passing the Devil's Island, which belongs to the British, although at first sight it would appear to be on the Siamese side of the mid-stream, he was told of the device by which a dispute as to the frontier here was settled. When argument and diplomacy had failed to solve the question, a cocoa-nut was dropped into the stream above Maulmain,

and it was arranged to accept the channel which it selected as the main stream. A strong east wind was blowing at the time, and this decided the course of the cocoa-nut in favour of the British claim, to the great satisfaction of Sir Archibald Campbell, governor of the province. The customary visits were paid to public institutions, and the usual functions held. Lord Dalhousie noticed as the most singular feature of Maulmain the employment of stout Burmese maidens in the shops, the prominence and freedom of the women generally, and their marriage at the mature age of eighteen to husbands of their own choice. Another contrast to his experience in northern India was the welcome accorded by the priests to visitors to their places of worship. From Maulmain the return journey began, the party again embarking on the *Firoze*. The transshipment was rendered a matter of some little difficulty by fogs and cross seas, but was effected without mishap. The vessel's head was turned northwards, and on the 6th of March the pilot was taken on board at the Sandheads. Shortly afterwards a collision with a large Indiaman lying at anchor was narrowly escaped, and later on some injury was done to an American trader higher up in the river. On the following day Calcutta was reached and the tour brought to a close.

The arrangements made for the Governor-General's landing and reception were discreditable alike to the authorities and to the public; and he could not help feeling that at his own headquarters he had been met not only with no welcome, but even with less show of respect than that accorded to him at the smallest station he had visited. There was, however, abundance of work to fill his own and his wife's thoughts with other subjects. Lady Dalhousie paid a visit to Bethune's

Hindu female school, which had been established during her absence, and now counted thirty-four pupils. She also inspected the European female orphans' asylum at the request of Mrs. Sherton, an old resident, who remembered seeing Francis borne away in a *palki* after the duel with Warren Hastings, his person being covered with a blood-stained sheet. On the 21st of March, after giving a State ball, Lady Dalhousie left for Mussoorie, which she reached in fifteen days. The Governor-General remained behind to dispose of urgent matters of business which had been awaiting his return. These included legislation, disagreements in the Council, and military questions. The last of these subjects will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Under the head of legislation it will be convenient to cast a backward glance at the progress of legislation since the Governor-General's departure from headquarters, after the passing of Act XXIV. of 1848, which conferred upon him during his absence from Calcutta powers other than those of making laws. But this measure did not relieve Lord Dalhousie from the responsibility of giving his formal sanction to the passing of Acts. He also assisted his colleagues in the consideration of difficulties, and proposed a set of rules for their guidance, observing that—"if they really mean to make an impression on the work satisfactory to themselves, I recommend them to sit not less than four hours each day of meeting." In 1849 only fifteen laws were passed in Calcutta. By the more important of these, the abominable practice of branding convicts was abolished, provision was made for the custody of lunatics, and a penal law enacted to deal with the offence of endeavouring to stir up mutiny in the army. The remaining Acts were chiefly of a fiscal or of a

judicial character. In 1850 several Acts were passed by the President in Council before the return of the Governor-General. During his stay in Calcutta no less than eighteen laws were added to this list, one of which, the measure for facilitating the recovery of small debts in the presidency towns, was a long and tedious piece of legislation. The "Emancipation Act," which was always regarded by Lord Dalhousie as the most important of those passed by him, was contained in a single section, which ran as follows :—

So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Company as inflicts upon any person forfeiture of rights or property, or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the courts of the East India Company, and in the courts established by Royal Charter in the said territories.

This principle of religious toleration introduced by Act XXI. of 1850 was not passed into law without anxious thought or without incurring considerable opposition. More than fifty years have gone by, and it has not yet been accepted by a single Native State ; while proposals for the amendment of it, brought forward from time to time, have been uniformly negatived by the Governments of India. If its provisions are not often invoked, and the decisions of the High Courts have not been uniform, its value is none the less, since the knowledge of its existence induces families to come to reasonable arrangements with any members who may become converts to Christianity. Until it was passed, a convert from Hinduism or one for religious reasons put out of caste, lost his civil rights, his property, his reversionary rights, and, moreover, his wife and children. By Hindu

law such a person even became a slave in certain cases, and this iniquitous custom lasted until slavery was abolished in British India. The Act was supported by "all Christian inhabitants in Calcutta," who in their memorial wrote as follows :—

We feel a deep interest in the welfare of the people of this land. We wish not to see any class among them stigmatised as wrong. We ardently desire that peace, justice, and all the advantages of civil and religious liberty may be secured to the whole population. We hail the promulgation of this measure with joy. . . . It offers no premium and inflicts no penalty. It enables the convert who seeks admission to the Christian Church to obey the dictates of his conscience free from the dread of forfeiture, while it leaves his relatives in possession precisely of the same property which they had before. . . . Whatever opposition your Lordship's Government may now have to encounter in carrying this salutary principle, we doubt not that in future and not distant years the wisdom and the righteousness of your policy will be acknowledged by all men.

On the other hand, numerous memorials on behalf of the religions of India were presented against the passing of the Act. To all of them Lord Dalhousie gave his most anxious consideration. He held that it was the right and the duty of every State to retain in its hands the power of regulating succession to property, and he found no proof that the British Government had ever given any pledge to the contrary. He had no desire to interfere with the general body of Hindu law, but felt that an exception must be made where any portion of that law inflicted personal injury or disabilities on a man solely by reason of his religious belief. "In now acting," he writes, "upon this principle, I can see no semblance of interference with the religion of the Hindus, nor any unauthorised interference with the rights secured to them." Sir F. Currie, Sir John Littler, and Mr. Bethune were of the

same mind, and the Act was accordingly passed. It may be added that when the controversy was carried to England, Sir Charles Wood, speaking in the House of Commons on the 3rd of June, 1853, said, "I think that this Act is perfectly right, and that no change of faith to any religion professed in any part of the Queen's dominions should entail the forfeiture of property. I quite agree, therefore, in the propriety of passing this Act."

In the whole history of Indian legislation no year has bequeathed to the present generation a richer legacy of enactments than 1850. In that year the coasting trade of the peninsula was freed from restrictions; officers entrusted with public funds were required to furnish security for the proper use of them; judicial officers were protected from harassing law suits for acts done in good faith; the law of apprentices was passed; provision made for the better custody of state prisoners; and a measure enacted for regulating inquiries into the behaviour of public servants. Aden was made a free port; the registration of joint stock companies provided for; and the first foundation laid for self-government by entrusting the conservancy of towns to their inhabitants. All of these Acts either still remain in force, or have been incorporated into other measures. It was owing to no neglect upon the part of Lord Dalhousie that the criminal procedure and the penal codes, to which the Law Commissioners had devoted so much thought, were not passed into law. Public opinion was hardly ripe for them, and Bethune strongly protested against their introduction. But after his death Lord Dalhousie carried in 1853 the first of the "Black Acts," entitled "an act to remove doubts as to the liability of all subjects of Her Majesty to the same jurisdictions as

natives in respect of public and police duties, and public charges incident to the holders of land or their local agents or managers." This reasonable measure was described as "the thin end of the wedge," and the newspapers predicted that "planter and zamindar, native and European will soon be placed on a much more equal footing in their respective dealings with the Mofussil courts." The Governor-General looked forward to that day with no misgivings as to the justice and policy of such a change, but it was necessary first to place the legislative system upon a wider basis, and it will be shown hereafter that he succeeded in introducing the requisite changes of law and constitution.

Bethune was mainly responsible for the delay which occurred in turning to account the report upon which Macaulay had spent so much labour. He was also the cause of the disagreements among the members of Council, which Lord Dalhousie set himself to correct before quitting Calcutta. "Sir John Littler," he writes, "never loses an opportunity of a dig at him, he who is usually so mild and indifferent. And Sir F. Currie ruffles his feathers whenever he sees a point of objection or of attack." The Governor-General felt that Bethune was lacking in tact and too meddling. The latter tendency he checked by making a rule that except on legislative business that member should not record minutes.

Despite the work and its unpleasant incidents, and notwithstanding the severity of the heat, Lord Dalhousie's health remained excellent. He felt none of the exhaustion which had distressed him during his previous residence in Bengal, but was alert and active. Rising at gun-fire, he took his morning's ride, breakfasted at nine o'clock, and worked on without intermission until six P.M., when he went out for a drive. But the full

stress of the hot season was now upon him, and on the 13th of April he proceeded to Barrackpore, starting by carriage *dak* for Simla two days later, and after a most trying journey, rejoined his wife, already there, at the beginning of May.

It must not be supposed that the advantages gained from the travels of the Governor-General were purchased without some sacrifice. His faithful correspondent, James Hogg, who never missed an opportunity of giving a friendly hint, wrote on the 24th of August, 1850 :—

You know how anxious I was that you should hasten to the North-Western Provinces to avert the evils which I could not fail to apprehend ; but now I shall be equally anxious to see you (health permitting) in Calcutta, as all important matters are nearly suspended during your absence.

Calcutta society missed the excitement of balls and dinners at Government House, and the press took up the cry and complained that the head of the administration was amusing himself on tour or in his retreat in the Hills. But Lord Dalhousie was not idle. Nothing escaped his attention. He was planning schemes of irrigation, imperial lines of communication, reforms in jails, and better accommodation for the troops. He was studying the system of education, seeing for himself the work and the defects of the administration, and, above all, observing the wide differences in manners, feelings, and wants between one part of India and another. This information was turned to practical account when he commenced the great task of reorganising the system of departments and laying out a comprehensive plan for railways, schools, and barracks. Nor did he neglect to pay prompt attention to business referred to him from

headquarters, writing minutes upon projects of legislation and executive matters. His exhaustive review of "the Government of India," which led to changes in the law on the so-called renewal of the Charter, could never have been written had he not first extended his observations beyond Calcutta and Bengal. Such advantages, however, were not secured without some disadvantage. There was some friction in the Supreme Council, some measure of delay occurred in the conduct of public business, and it is possible that the force of the serious conflict between the Government of India and the Commander-in-Chief might have been mitigated had the Governor-General been on the spot. That, however, is a matter which must be reserved for a separate chapter.

CHAPTER IX

OFFICIAL CONTROVERSY WITH SIR CHARLES NAPIER

Sir Charles Napier's early career—His quarrels with superior authority—His ambition to become Governor-General—His appointment as Commander-in-Chief—Lord Dalhousie's sketch of his personality—Cordial relations between the two—Friendly correspondence—First signs of disagreement—Napier's discontent with his position—His condemnation of the Punjab administration—His relations with his own subordinates—Limit put by Lord Dalhousie upon military operations during his tour—The Kohat expedition and its results—Napier's memorandum of 27th November, 1849, on military affairs—Lord Dalhousie's temperate answer of 26th December—Napier's second memorandum on Punjab affairs—Comments upon the two minutes—Lord Dalhousie's answer of 11th April, 1850—The storm bursts—The grant and reduction of Sind allowances—Mutinous outbreaks in consequence of reduction—System of compensation for dearness of provisions—Napier's order acquiesced in, his action condemned—The embarrassment of Government described to Hogg—Napier's justification in letter of 26th April, 1850—Rumours of resignation—Lord Dalhousie's reply of 14th June, and further correspondence—The decision of the Duke of Wellington and of the Court—Lord Dalhousie's generous action in the matter of prize-money and Napier's protest—Scenery of Chini—Happy time spent in the valley.

THE writer of the article on Sir Charles Napier in the 1849-1850. *Encyclopædia Britannica* expresses a widely-prevalent view in the following words :—

His restless and imperious spirit was met by one equally imperious in the Governor-General, Lord Dalhousie. From the

very beginning of his command the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief disagreed, and in April, 1850, Sir Charles was reprimanded on some trifling point of discipline. This reprimand was reiterated by the Duke of Wellington, and in December, 1850, Napier once more left for England.

The facts now brought to light by Lord Dalhousie's demi-official correspondence should largely modify this statement. It will be seen that the Governor-General, predisposed to admiration of the gallant soldier, gave him a warm welcome, and that for a considerable time the relations between the two were thoroughly cordial. But before we enter upon the controversy which ensued, the reader, who has already learned something of the character and methods of Lord Dalhousie, may be reminded of the leading events in the life of Napier previous to his becoming Commander-in-Chief in India.

Born in 1782, Charles James Napier was in the sixty-eighth year of his age when he succeeded Lord Gough. His striking personality, his talents, and his spirit he inherited from his mother, the romantic daughter of the second Duke of Richmond, the lovely Sarah Lennox, of whose fascinations Walpole writes in such rapturous language, with whom George the Third, when Prince, fell deeply in love, and who, it has been said, encouraged in herself the dream of sharing his throne. Her son's public life had almost from the outset been of a stormy character, for while yet a subaltern in Manningham's Rifles he quarrelled bitterly with his commanding officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart. But equally from the first his military career exhibited brilliant ability, undaunted courage, and ready resource. His earliest experience of active warfare was gained in the Peninsula, where on arrival at Lisbon he found

himself in command of the 50th Regiment, owing to the absence on leave of its Colonel. At Coruña in 1809 he received no less than five severe wounds; at Busaco, in the following year, he was shot through the face, had his jaw broken, and one of his eyes injured. His intrepidity, and the skill with which he handled his troops, led to his being promoted shortly afterwards to the Lieutenant-Colonelcy of the 102nd Regiment, which he brought into a state of the highest efficiency. After a short spell on half-pay for the completion of his military education, interrupted by constant service in the field, he was appointed Governor and Military Resident in Cephallonia. Here his relations with the High Commissioner became after a time so difficult that in 1830 he threw up his office. Nine years later, having in the interval been made a K.C.B., he obtained command of the Northern District in England. Disagreements with the Government again led to resignation of his post, and he then went out to India. In 1842 he was ordered from Poona to Sind, where he brought matters to a speedy issue by defeating the Amirs at the decisive battle of Miani, on the 17th of February, 1843. He not only conquered the province, he also administered it well and firmly. But once more having quarrelled with the Government, he returned home in 1847. Not, however, with the idea of retiring from active work, for on his arrival in England he at once made use of his family interest with a view to obtaining higher office in India. The hopes he cherished, not without good ground, as well as the repeated disappointments he encountered, have an important bearing upon his subsequent career. But to make clear the causes of the one and the other, it may be as well to glance at some of the difficulties with which the governing

powers at home were at the time beset in the matter of Indian appointments. In this some help is afforded by a letter from Sir James Hogg to Lord Hardinge, dated October the 27th, 1846, a letter which at the same time throws valuable light upon the relations of the Board of Control with the Court of Directors. Two extracts will be sufficient:—

After the arrival of the news of the resignation of Arthur, Hobhouse wrote proposing, on behalf of Government, Charles Villiers, the Corn Law man. I told Hobhouse that I admitted Villiers to be a clever man, but that he had no administrative experience, and that in the present exigency in India I considered it of the first importance to get a good and tried man for Bombay. I named as fit men George Clerk, Pottinger, and Sir John Littler. He objected to Pottinger with reference to the opinions he had expressed as to Sind and Napier, and I admitted the validity of the objection and did not press him. I added that I would not object to giving the new Governor a provisional appointment to succeed you, provided we could thereby induce a first-rate man to go, and said I would consent to give such a provisional appointment to either Lord Dalhousie or Lord Clarendon. Hobhouse seemed rather pleased at my suggestion, and asked if he might make it as a distinct proposal to the Cabinet, and I told him that he might do so. Matters stood thus on the eve of the departure of the last mail, when a Secret Despatch on Punjab affairs was sent to me for transmission by that mail.

Hogg then proceeded to describe the tenor of the proposed despatch as querulous and ungenerous to the Governor-General. Although the Court was obliged by law to forward the Secret Despatches of the Board, Sir James felt it a duty to protest. He therefore went over to the Board, threatening to follow up his protest by a visit to the Prime Minister. His principal objection was, that if Lord Hardinge received by the same mail an unpleasant despatch, and also an intimation of the appointment to the Governorship of Bombay of one

who was to succeed him as Governor-General, he might take it as a hint that he no longer had the confidence of the Government, and might therefore resign his office. The despatch was therefore altered, and all matter of offence removed. The letter proceeds :—

Just after this Hobhouse wrote saying that it was his desire, as well as that of the Duke of Wellington and Lord John Russell, that Sir Charles Napier should receive a provisional appointment as Commander-in-Chief in India in succession both to Gough and you. Such an appointment never was heard of, and would of course be wholly inoperative while you remained in India. I had of course other and more important objections. After the manner in which he exercised the discretionary powers with which he was invested in Sind, and which are inseparable from the chief command, I could not recommend him to the Court, and am sure there would not be a voice in his favour if I did. Besides, after the imputations he cast on our civil service, and which have never been disavowed or retracted, I could not give him a seat in Council and thus place him in civil authority over the servants whose honour he had gravely impugned.

Hogg accordingly had an interview with Lord John Russell, and his account of it ends with these words :—

I think from what Lord John said that Clerk will get Bombay, and I hope so, as I proposed him. Lord Clarendon refused the offer I mentioned, and it was not made to Lord Dalhousie.

Mr. George Russell Clerk did succeed Sir George Arthur in January, 1847, and Napier missed his chance. One disappointment after another trod rapidly on the heels of its predecessor. After Chilianwalla the Government and the Court thought that the public safety demanded the appointment of Napier to supersede Gough; and thus chosen to save India, he found the opportunity favourable for pressing his claim to the reversionary appointment of Governor-General. In this



Quay

he was supported by Lord Ellenborough, who, on the 5th of March, 1849, wrote to the Duke of Wellington :—

Sir Charles further wishes to be made provisional successor to the Governor-General, not knowing how soon he might be deprived of Lord Dalhousie's aid, and not knowing who might follow him.

But the objections previously raised to such appointment had lost none of their force, and Sir Charles had to content himself with hurrying out to India with the expectation of 'adding to his military laurels. Again his hopes were balked. For before he could take command of the forces in Bengal, the Punjab war was at an end, and Lord Gough had reaped the victory of Gujarat together with its rewards. Even then Napier might have been charged with the duties of Governor of the Punjab, an office which would have pleased him. But the Governor-General had, without awaiting orders from home, annexed the territories of the Sikhs, and appointed the members of the Board of Administration. It must be confessed that Sir Charles was singularly unfortunate, and he would not have been human had he not yielded to the temptation of criticising freely the actions of those who, from whatever cause, had repeatedly thwarted his ambitions.

It will further tend to remove any idea of a prejudice on the part of Lord Dalhousie against Napier if the following portrait of the new Commander-in-Chief is reproduced from the pages of the Governor-General's diary, dated the 5th of August, 1849 :—

He is wonderfully well preserved for a man of sixty-seven, still more so when it is recollected what a life of hardships he has led, what climates he has braved, how riddled and chopped to pieces with balls and bayonets and sabre wounds he is. His hair is now quite gray ; and allowing it to grow as it will, he combs it back

straight off his forehead to the back of his head. Under bushy eyebrows gleam a pair of piercing and brilliant eyes, which yet are singularly mild in their expression, except when he is roused to wrath. Although he is so short-sighted as to wear spectacles constantly, the beauty and brilliancy of his eyes are not disguised by that most disfiguring of all human conveniences. His nose, highly aquiline by nature, was made still more so by a bullet at Busaco, which went in at his right cheek, through his nose, shattering it as it passed. He wears large grey moustaches, and shaving the front and point of the chin, he allows his whiskers to grow unshorn, and lets his beard lengthen as it will, so that it now rests on his breast, and portions descend to his belt. . . . Sir Charles's manner is peculiarly young and gay. He is full of anecdote, such as his varied life was likely to supply; full of fun and full of cleverness. I never had a more agreeable inmate in my house. I was sorry when he housed himself. In all our views of public questions we vary little, and I venture to believe that, working cordially together as we shall do, much real good may be effected by us. Of course I do not mean that he can approve of the Government of the Punjab constituted as it is. The Government is administered by "Politicals," and, as I told Sir John Hobhouse, that fact alone is enough, in Sir Charles's eyes, to damn Utopia. But these civil matters belong exclusively to me. In all matters in which the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief share action, we agree almost without exception.

Yet, as Lord Dalhousie wished to be frank, he took an early opportunity of making it clear that the civil administration was to be regarded as his own special province, to a share in which his colleague could not be admitted, adding, in view of Napier's dislike to the admixture of civilians in any business connected with military operations, that he would not "see a political officer near him unless he asked for him." Sir Charles laughed with perfect good-humour, and Lord Dalhousie recorded his belief that he "has no more idea of attempting to interfere with me in my civil functions than I have of taking direct command of the army." The

Governor-General, in thus warning Sir Charles of the danger of interference, was only consistent with himself. For his letters to Hobhouse, to be found in the British Museum, show that he was fully alive to the restless nature of the Commander-in-Chief, and to the possibility of his desiring to trench upon regions that should be outside his ken. Nor even earlier was Lord Dalhousie without a prescience as to the firmness which would be necessary in dealing with a colleague whose combative tendencies were so well known, for so far back as the 7th of September, 1848, he had written to the Duke of Wellington in the following terms :—

So far as I am personally concerned, I should be very glad to see Sir Charles Napier Commander-in-Chief. I have no fear of not getting on with him, and I would take very good care that he did not step beyond his proper place, the limits of which are well defined and easily enforced.

The attitude which Lord Dalhousie adopted towards his colleague after his arrival in India was entirely consistent with the assurance thus given, as will be seen from the following extracts from his correspondence. On the 28th of April, 1849, the Marquis wrote to Sir Charles :—

I hasten to despatch this letter to meet you in Calcutta, in order to convey to you, as clearly as I can, the expression of my great satisfaction in knowing that the command of this army will be hereafter in your hands, and that I shall enjoy the benefit of your aid as a member of this Government. The war, thank God, is well over, but there will be plenty for you to do, and I am certain you will believe, without any protestations on my part, that you will have from me that entire and unreserved confidence which is essential to the conduct of public affairs by those who occupy the relative positions which we shall fill. I shall hope to hear from you on your arrival your intentions and plans for the summer.

In writing to Napier on the misunderstanding with

Gough relative to the date of his assumption of the command, Lord Dalhousie was most considerate :—

I do not see that it was possible for you to do otherwise than to assume the command at once. The manner in which you were sent from England of itself necessarily implied an intention that you should take command at once. I have not seen the Duke's letter to Lord Gough, but both that letter and the Duke's speech have led Lord Gough to the conclusion that he was to lay down the command before you took it up. The old man will be mortified after having buoyed himself up as he has done. And I am sure you do not think it inconsistent with an assurance of my being sincerely happy to see you here, if I say that I am sorry for the pain he suffers.

On the 6th of June the Governor-General wrote a cordial letter of invitation to the Commander-in-Chief "to put up with me until you get a house to suit you." The frequent communications and conversations which passed between the two men at Simla made Lord Dalhousie realise how much his colleague disliked the system of administration introduced into the Punjab, but on the 30th of July, 1849, the former wrote to Hobhouse :—

I do not expect to satisfy him on these matters, but as this is purely civil (with which, as I told you, I don't mean him to interfere), I hear his views, profit by them when they are practical, and pass on. My steady object will be to prevent his being interfered with improperly in any military arrangements: the civil will remain with me exclusively. I see him almost every day, and we get on as perfectly as any two men can do. He is astonishing the army already.

Even when the Punjab authorities began to take offence at the tone of Napier's correspondence, he still wrote, on the 20th of August, to Hobhouse :—

The Commander-in-Chief and I pull together as well as possible. I shall have great trouble in keeping the peace between him and

the Board. My only chance of keeping things smooth is to make all military matters as distinct as possible from civil, and this is my object.

As instances of personal courtesy and official politeness these extracts may suffice :—

I hope you will not so stand on ceremony as either to put yourself to inconvenience in calling, or to apologise for not doing so. Neither Lady Dalhousie nor I expect it, and it is useless to give yourself superfluous trouble when so much is sure to be given to you at all times.

Again :—

Before you left Simla you suggested that I should furnish you with a memorandum of any subjects to which I wished to direct your attention during my journey in the Punjab. I have taken the liberty of doing so in the paper which I enclose.

It was during this tour that the first cloud of serious difference showed itself on the horizon ; and the comparative failure of the operations against the Afridi tribes, the restrictions imposed upon military movements by the Governor-General during his own absence from headquarters, and the collision between the Commander-in-Chief and the President in Council, eventually rolled up such a storm that the maintenance of peaceful relations was impossible. Sir Charles could not contain his feelings of indignation when he arrived at Lahore and found the administration of politicals in working order. In October he had complained that he had “ no control over anything but the apothecaries in the army,” and that the Military Board was Commander-in-Chief. When he was consulted about the location of forts, and other military arrangements in the Punjab, he refused to express an opinion until he could visit the places that appeared to be in need of further defence, and when he

arrived on the spot he would not go to see Jamrud or any other outlying positions in that part of the frontier. At Peshawar Colonel Lawrence offered to furnish him with any information which could be of use, but was not asked a single question. At Lahore John Lawrence placed his time and knowledge at the Chief's disposal, only to be similarly ignored; while with Sir Henry he was ready to talk on every subject except the local administration and the matters on which the Government desired the opinion of the head of the army. Yet Sir Charles wrote a querulous letter to the Government of India alleging that he was kept in the dark about Punjab affairs.

With his own military staff relations were not happier. When, on the trial of a private in H.M.'s 75th Regiment for shooting a Sepoy, the Judge-Advocate demurred to a decision from headquarters in which the court was rebuked for referring to the Statute of 9th George III., c. 3,—“ancient statutes of ancient kings with which neither the Court nor the Commander-in-Chief has anything to do,”—he was mercilessly reprimanded for the discharge of what he conceived to be his duty. At an inspection of the 14th Dragoons, their commanding officer, Colonel K——, remarked to Sir Charles that in action the troopers' swords were liable to injury from their steel scabbards, and pointed out that recent recruits had hardly come up to the standard of height. This so excited the Chief's displeasure, that addressing the regiment at the close of the parade he told them that what they wanted were not sharper swords or bigger men, but capable leaders. The troopers concluded rather hastily that their Colonel had found fault with them, and resented the implied censure. A few months later

Colonel K—— had to bring to court-martial one of his men, who in an outburst of passion had called him a coward, and said that he had run away at Chilianwalla. The court sentenced the prisoner to transportation, whereupon the Commander-in-Chief, supposing him to have been drunk, ordered the sentence to be revised. The court adhered to its former decision, with the result that Sir Charles reprimanded the Colonel and its members, and pardoned the offender. The sequel to these events was extremely tragic, for Colonel K—— put a pistol to his head and blew out his brains.

Napier's views as to the state of affairs in the Punjab were of the most alarmist character, and he gave expression to them in letters to the authorities at home. On Lord Dalhousie's attention being called to the subject by Hobhouse and by Hogg, he found himself obliged to contradict his colleague. He further considered it necessary to ascertain whether similar utterances had been made by Sir Charles in India. He was then told by Colonel Grant that the Commander-in-Chief had said to him that if he had his way, he would place 50,000 men on the Narbada, the same number on the Brahmaputra, and another 50,000 beyond the Satlaj. With these forces he would conquer Afghanistan and the southern provinces of China, and bestow them on his men. With views of such magnificent ambition held by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Dalhousie when leaving the Punjab to proceed by sea to Bombay and Calcutta, felt it only prudent to restrict the powers of his military colleague. But he used his best endeavours to avoid giving him any unnecessary offence. In a long letter, dated the 14th of December, 1849, he justified his own action in undertaking a journey at a time when the position of public affairs seemed to Sir

Charles so full of peril. He adverted to the state of his own health, and to his expectation that nothing extraordinary would occur during his voyage, and at the same time explained precisely the authority and powers of the President in Council.

I am aware that in this respect your expectations do not coincide with mine, and that you think disturbance not improbable. Without entering on any unprofitable discussion on this head, I quite agree with you that it is right to be prepared for everything. If, contrary to my expectations, there should be an attempt of this sort; if on any of the frontiers there should be invasion of our territories, or if there should be armed insurrection within our bounds, it is almost superfluous to say that you would act at once against either enemy. Externally, for anything short of hostile attack upon our territories, I cannot conceive a case in which aggressive measures should be so immediately or peremptorily necessary as to preclude the possibility or overrule the expediency of reference to the Government, which is responsible for the commencement of war.

1850

It cannot be said that these precautions were either unreasonable or superfluous, but they added fresh fuel to the indignation of Napier. Then followed a new cause of discontent in the doubtful credit gained by the Commander-in-Chief in the Kohat expedition. The object of this military operation was to punish the Adam Khel section of the Afridi clan, who in February, 1850, had killed and wounded some of a party of sappers working in British territory upon the Kohat road. From the former rulers of Peshawar this tribe had received an annual subsidy for protecting the road which led over their hilly country from the plain of Peshawar at Aimal Chabutra to the Kohat plain on the other or southern side of their mountains and glens. On the annexation of Peshawar and Kohat the British Government had undertaken to continue the subsidy

of Rs. 5700 a year; a condition which had been fulfilled. Various explanations were suggested of so unprovoked an outrage. George Lawrence ascribed it to tribal alarm at the construction of a road towards their country. The Afridis themselves complained of the increase of the salt duty levied at the mines, and asserted that the allowances had not reached those to whom they were due. The Board questioned these allegations, and found in the lawlessness and suspicions of the tribesmen, and in the intrigues of a notorious freebooter, an adequate explanation of the occurrence. But whatever the cause, there was no difference of opinion as to the necessity of punishing the offenders. For this purpose Sir Charles detached a force under Sir Colin Campbell, which set out on its march on the 9th of February, 1850. Unfortunately the Commander-in-Chief insisted upon accompanying the troops, thus hampering the action of his subordinates, and giving to a small "frontier affair" an importance which it did not deserve. The expedition, in fact, was apparently a failure. On our side 19 were killed and 74 wounded. The troops marched into the pass and out again, with the tribes hanging upon their rear, and then returned to Peshawar after a week's campaign. The Commander-in-Chief issued a general order reviewing the successful operations, and Lord Dalhousie gave to the officers concerned the thanks of the Government. But he refused to publish the reports, and this gave further offence to Sir Charles Napier.

Differences with the Commander-in-Chief over this unfortunate affair did not end there. Subsequent events only confirmed the first impression that the punishment inflicted on the Afridis was insufficient. Further outrages were committed by them, whereupon the Com-

mander-in-Chief recommended that the subsidy formerly granted by the Sikhs should be increased in amount. The Board, on the other hand, would have sent out troops to harry the tribe when their corn was ripe. To the former suggestion Lord Dalhousie could not assent so long as the clansmen were contumacious; the latter proposal he considered unduly severe. In lieu of either, a blockade was instituted, and in September the Afridis asked for terms. The Governor-General then restored to them their former allowances, and sanctioned some extra payments to the Orakzais, throwing upon the hill-tribes the responsibility of keeping the pass open. Upon this basis peaceful relations continued until 1853, when in consequence of further misbehaviour, the charge of a part of the road from Kohat to the crest of the mountain was transferred to the Bangashis.

A more serious disagreement with Sir Charles arose out of his memorandum on military affairs, dated the 27th of November, 1849, which he gave to the Governor-General at Lahore. In this document of portentous length the Commander-in-Chief reviewed the whole position in India. In the Hyderabad State of the Nizam he regarded the aspect of affairs as "dangerous." "The whole country to the south of the Narbada is unsafe, and to the north very little better, if at all." On the side of Burma there were "real perils." The kingdom of Nepal was "hostile and ready to strike." "The Punjab has been twice occupied by our troops, but it is not conquered. We now occupy it with 54,000 fighting men, and it is at present very dangerous ground." Sind alone was safe, owing to Napier's own success in carrying out Lord Ellenborough's system; but it was not likely to remain so under a civil government and in the hands of Bombay. "India has only

prospered by conquest, and these conquests are not due to the system of government, but to the courage of our troops. I avow frankly that, in my opinion, the present system in the Punjab will produce neither peace nor attachment to our rule." Sir Charles then contrasted Lord Ellenborough's military government of Sind, as administered by himself, with the methods in force in the Punjab, which must "break down"; and in view of the policy adopted, declared that the "north-west is not more safe than the south, the east, and the north."

Every Native Prince regarded us with "venomous hatred." The position of the Commander-in-Chief was not what it should be, but at the same time we had a "magnificent" army of 300,000 men, "in a good state of discipline" (the reader should bear this admission in mind for reference hereafter), and Sir Charles did not consider that even one additional regiment was required in consequence of the annexation, if only we looked facts in the face. Accordingly, he proceeded to place these facts, as he viewed them, before the Governor-General. A Sikh army of 100,000 men had been disbanded, and it was not probable that the soldiers would turn their swords into ploughshares. When the "third Sikh war" should occur, we could not again rely upon the inaction of Maharaja Gulab Sing. The Commander-in-Chief therefore proposed that the great magazine should be placed at Delhi, so as to be close at hand, and the headquarters of the artillery moved to that city or to Meerut. He also desired to strengthen our hold on Bareilly, Landaur, and Almorah. At Dinapur there should be another magazine, strongly defended. The military forces of the empire should be relieved of all police and civil duties. The Jullunder

Doab he regarded as a position of the utmost importance, while to Peshawar less attention was needed, it being only an advance guard, "waiting for the day, and come it will, when we shall conquer Afghanistan and occupy Kandahar." Between the Jamna and the Beas the bulk of our European troops should be stationed; and the Commander-in-Chief went on to indicate the several stations at which he wished barracks to be built for their accommodation. Altogether, in view of the defective system of its government, Sir Charles required 54,772 men of all arms for the defence of the Punjab. Turning to the ten regiments of irregular troops then being raised by the Punjab Board, he did not hesitate to say explicitly that they would "plunder the people more or less."

Again recurring to his own successful administration of Sind, Sir Charles criticised the new police arrangements in the Punjab, declaring that 30,000 troops, or even less, would suffice if it were not for the dangerous system introduced into the newly annexed territories. He anticipated another rising of the Sikhs aided by the Kashmiris. From the Punjab he passed on to the position in Bengal, proposing a new allocation for its army of 78,000 men, and urging its concentration for reasons similar to those previously set forth by Lord Dalhousie. Further, the subjects of fortifications, forts, and barracks were treated at length in this exhaustive memorandum.

On the 26th of December, Lord Dalhousie recorded his minute upon that portion of the Chief's paper which dealt with the arrangements of immediate importance in the Punjab. He deliberately avoided entering into all controversies closed by the sanction of the Court of Directors to the form of administration introduced into

that province, merely recording in courteous terms his dissent from the views expressed by Sir Charles. The Governor-General thought that the force of 54,000 men recommended for its occupation was excessive; but at the same time he felt it to be a matter of loyalty to his colleague and of consistency with himself to confirm Napier's decision as to the distribution of the army under his command. As Sir Charles resented this portion of the minute, it may be as well to quote the exact words of it.

The distribution of the regular troops in the new province is a question so purely military, that I should desire to rely upon his Excellency's judgment, and to accept his recommendations as conclusive in this matter. But I consider it necessary to direct his Excellency's especial attention to that portion of the Punjab which is designated the *Manjha*, and which lies between the Ravi and the Beas or *Satlaj*. The whole of that district is occupied almost exclusively by the Sikhs. If formidable insurrection is to be apprehended, it is most probably within the *Manjha* to the north of the city of Amritsar that it will take place. It is of the utmost importance that any attempt at actual insurrection should be dealt with speedily as well as vigorously, and that the means should be at hand. I apprehend that this will not be the case if the regular troops within the *Bari Doab* are stationed exclusively at Lahore, especially since it is intended to hold the fortress of Govindghar by a wing instead of an entire regiment as heretofore.

On one point, namely, the abandonment of Peshawar and of the frontier generally to the safe-guarding of the irregular regiments, Lord Dalhousie stated that he could not consent to the proposals of the Chief. He regarded Peshawar as a post of the highest political importance, for the security of which the regular army must be responsible; and he desired to see field-batteries at Bannu and Dera Ghazi Khan ready to support the

irregular corps. But he invited the opinion of Sir Charles as to the location of the forces needed for this purpose, and above all he wished to have the Commander-in-Chief's opinion as to whether the irregular corps should be placed, as originally intended by the Governor-General, under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief or under those of the Board of Administration. As it was advisable that orders on these points should be issued as soon as possible, Lord Dalhousie asked to be favoured with an early reply.

To this courteously worded minute no answer was received till two months later, when in a second memorandum on the Punjab Sir Charles gave fresh vent to his indignation—

"I did not expect," he wrote, "to alter the opinion of the Governor-General, nor was my opinion given with that object. I advert to the Government of the Punjab as the foundation on which all military disposition of the troops must depend. Where a good Government rules, the people are content, and few or no troops required. Where a bad one rules, the reverse is the case."

Turning to the passage quoted on a previous page¹ regarding the Manjha, his Excellency observed:—

His Lordship directs my especial attention to that portion of the Punjab designated the Manjha. This I shall attend to; but I must be allowed to call his Lordship's attention to a few facts, as being very important, because his Lordship's letter throws on me a very great responsibility, which his sense of justice will tell him I can only accept if the confidence placed in me and the powers entrusted to me are commensurate with the responsibility.

Then followed a long and querulous diatribe on various points. The Commander-in-Chief had had no information given to him except a letter from the Board, "which improperly writes to me," and whose "suggestions are of no use to me, none in the world."

¹ See the preceding page.

Why should troops be poured into the Manjha merely because the Board say there is danger of a rising? . . . I maintain that a well-organised police and a well-conducted system of espionage are the two most powerful means of preventing an insurrection. A Government that keeps me informed assists me in my duties. A Government that "suggests" only impedes me, and is more dangerous than an enemy.

Dealing with the Governor-General's remarks about supporting the irregular troops, Sir Charles wrote :—

It is not for me to dictate to the Governor-General; if he thinks that the 18,552 irregular troops, and some twenty to thirty pieces of cannon are not sufficient to hold these miserable tribes in subjection, I can only say that those whom he has entrusted with the direction of this army, must mismanage their troops, for I should stake my life upon doing it with half of this force, with proper civil government.

Before we pass on to Lord Dalhousie's reply, a few comments may be made upon Napier's extravagant charges. Read by the light of subsequent events they can only provoke a smile. The administration of the Punjab by the Lawrences fills some of the most brilliant pages of Indian history. The "third Sikh war," so imminent in 1850, has not yet occurred. The irregular troops in the Punjab neither plundered the people nor rose against us in the mutiny. Hyderabad and Kashmir have enjoyed unbroken peace and loyally observed their engagements to the British Government. With the state of Nepal there has been no serious disagreement; while on the other hand the "miserable tribes" on the frontier have required for their chastisement the flower of the Indian regular army. Yet there are some who have pointed to Sir Charles Napier as the man who predicted the Indian mutiny. No doubt in the passages just given his whole tone was one of intense alarm, but

a prophet who prophesies danger from the north and south, east and west, and specifies as the most dangerous quarters those in which nothing but loyalty was shown even in the time of rebellion, can hardly claim either the attention of the statesman or credit for his foresight. The Commander-in-Chief gave no hint of a Sepoy rebellion, and made no suggestion of an increase of the European forces. The Native troops were extolled for their discipline, the administration of the Punjab Board utterly condemned.

To the second memorandum Lord Dalhousie penned, on the 11th of April, 1850, a temperate but at the same time altogether conclusive rejoinder, confining himself to the substance of his Excellency's replies to the particular questions put to him. Careful to avoid any such altercation as would interfere with the harmonious conduct of the public service, he gave Sir Charles no plausible excuse for tendering his resignation, a step which Napier had already contemplated. In regard to his own previous minute, after showing beyond all possibility of cavil that it conveyed no such meaning as had been read into it, he declined to "enter into the statements and the arguments which his Excellency has founded upon his misapprehension of it." He announced that he would shortly be at Simla, when all details could be settled. In the meanwhile, the police would be placed exclusively under the orders of the Board, and arrangements would be made as quickly as possible for transferring the irregular regiments to his Excellency's command. Upon the other questions raised, precise orders were given. The correspondence was then placed before the Council of India, from which it passed to the home authorities. In what light those authorities viewed the Commander-in-Chief's attitude

to the Governor-General will be seen from the following letter of Sir James Hogg, dated June the 7th, 1850 :—

I read the documents you transmitted with great pain, and I must say with considerable alarm. How you can discharge your duty, and how the public service is to be carried on with such a man, I am unable to see. We shall have our servants engaged in defending their measures and conduct, incrimination and recrimination, to the utter neglect of their duties, and to the detriment of the public service. We have had two Commanders-in-Chief recalled for conduct much less objectionable, and much less dangerous. But it would seem that this family is exempt from the rules applied to the rest of the world. Nothing can exceed the admirable spirit and temper in which you have made your remarks, but you are a man and a Scotchman too, and while you maintain your temper, as becomes your station, you must be worried and harassed with such discussions, and worry of that description is more trying to health than either work or climate. The Chairman and myself went to Hobhouse and impressed upon him most strongly the necessity of sending by this mail a despatch reprobating very severely the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief, and affording you the fullest support.

Before the Court's despatch could arrive the storm-cloud had burst. Having quarrelled with the President in Council, and then with the Governor-General on the subject of compensation to the native troops for dearth of provisions, Napier made it an excuse for tendering his resignation. It is a serious mistake to suppose that the issue was "a trifling point of discipline." Both the cause and the occasion of the final collision were matters of deep significance. The cause lay in Napier's own character and temperament, which had led him during his stormy life into frequent conflicts with superior authority; the occasion was in itself one of grave importance. In order that the dispute regarding compensation to the Sepoys may be

clearly understood, it is necessary to refer to the question of the reduction of the Sind allowances, which led to various acts of mutiny in the native regiments at the close of the second Sikh war.

The Sind allowances were originally granted by Government to troops serving in that outlying province of Bombay, where, owing to climate and the prevalence of fever, service was very unpopular with the native soldier. The Sind *batta*, as it was called, was an addition of "hutting money" to the pay of the Bombay Sepoys at the rate of two rupees a month when they were stationed in cantonments or other fixed posts, with an extra rupee and a half as "marching rates" when they were marching or on active service. The two allowances combined raised the pay of the Sepoy to twelve rupees. In the first Sikh war these Sind allowances were given to the troops engaged in the Satlaj campaign. The second Sikh war was a far more serious operation, and it was considered unsafe to alter the past practice. Accordingly the allowances were again granted to all the Native troops whether they came from Sind, or from Bengal, or other parts of India. When, in April, 1849, the army was broken up and the Punjab incorporated in the Company's Indian Empire, it was necessary to revert as soon as possible to the normal rates of pay. The Company's treasuries could not bear the continued strain upon them; nor could the *batta* be justified either on climatic grounds or by the difference between the cost of living in the Punjab and that in Bengal or the rest of India. But the reduction of any salary once paid to the Sepoy is an operation of considerable danger. Accordingly the marching allowance was first withdrawn, and after several months the cantonment or "hutting" allow-

ance was also disallowed, except in the case of regiments serving beyond the Indus.

In the process of thus drawing back from the more liberal rates, some reasonable discontent was here and there caused by the omission of the commanding officers to explain clearly to their men the intentions of Government. But on the whole the reduction was carried out with comparatively little trouble. There were, however, five cases in which a mutinous spirit showed itself. The first and second of these occurred at Rawal Pindi in the middle of the year 1849. On the former of these occasions some men of the 22nd Regiment refused to accept their month's pay at the rate of Rs. 10-8, which meant a reduction of the marching allowance only. Sir Charles Napier promptly ordered the whole regiment to be paraded, and their discharge to be given to all who should still decline their pay thus curtailed. On the heels of this incident followed a similar movement on the part of the 13th Regiment. But good sense prevailed, and it was only necessary to dismiss two officers and ten men in the two regiments, and to punish others. The rest were treated liberally as to the past, but both regiments were moved to stations outside the Punjab, where the ordinary rates of pay were in force. Instructions were then given to announce to all regiments serving in the Punjab that until further orders their pay would be Rs. 10-8; and it was intended after a further interval to get back to the normal rates. The third case was that of the 41st Regiment at Delhi, when the Commander-in-Chief, being near at hand, sent a serious warning to the Native officers, which had the effect of restoring order. The regiment was then transferred to Multan. Early in 1850 a similar spirit of disaffection showed itself in

the 32nd Regiment at Wazirabad. Four men were tried for mutinous conduct, convicted, and sentenced to death, a sentence which the Commander-in-Chief commuted to transportation. The fifth case of mutinous conduct was more serious. It occurred in February, 1850, at Govindghar, in the 66th Regiment, which relieved the 61st at that fort. The men, on finding that they were not to receive the same rate of pay as their predecessors, broke out into open insubordination, some of them trying to seize the fort. It was afterwards found that their commanding officer, Major Troup, had not explained to his men the intentions of Government regarding the Sind allowances. But nothing could justify mutiny. With commendable vigour Sir Charles Napier at once disbanded the whole regiment, and blamed General Gilbert for not having directed the court-martial to shoot the ringleaders. Lord Dalhousie cordially approved and confirmed the action of the Commander-in-Chief, at the same time expressing the opinion that Major Troup should be punished for his neglect; a measure to which Sir Charles somewhat illogically objected, on the ground that he was a valuable officer.

So far Sir Charles had co-operated with the Government in suppressing any resistance to the orders for reducing the Sind allowance. His action in regard to compensation for dearness of provisions was therefore inconsistent with his previous conduct. It will be remembered that mutinous conduct had showed itself in the 32nd Regiment at Wazirabad. That was the fourth of the five cases just reviewed. General Hearsey, who commanded there, reported that the new pay regulations differed from the old rules. Under the rules the Sepoys were entitled to compensation when-

ever the price of provisions forming their monthly diet exceeded Rs. 3·8; and under the regulations compensation was based upon the aggregate cost of the whole diet. General Hearsey, anxious to soothe discontent by a popular concession, persuaded himself that the regulations were wrong, and that the Sepoy was entitled under the rules to an extra allowance whenever the price of any component part of his diet rose above a fixed normal rate, even although the aggregate cost of the whole of his provisions did not exceed Rs. 3·8 in the month. The Commander-in-Chief too readily accepted this view, and upon his own responsibility issued an order suspending the new regulations. Unfortunately he went still further, claiming that he was right no less as to his powers than as to his facts. When his "facts" were disproved, he not only persisted in holding that there had been an alteration and a mistake in the existing regulations, but also asserted his competency to alter any regulations, and finally declared, in spite of the Governor-General's injunction, that he should act in a similar way if the necessity arose.

Such was the origin of the main controversy which led to the resignation of Sir Charles Napier, and in view of its importance it is necessary to follow more closely the various stages through which it passed. Having directed that compensation should be given to the Native troops in the Punjab on the system just explained, and having assigned as his reason "the unprovoked state of insubordination in some regiments" owing to the reduction of the Sind allowances, which made it necessary to avoid "a cause of dissatisfaction," Sir Charles reported his action to the President in Council. In reply it was pointed out to him that there was no

mistake in the existing regulations, the pay code of 1849 simply embodying orders given by Lord Hardinge's Government in 1845 and approved of by the Commander-in-Chief, Lord Gough. The Government of India therefore regretted the action taken by Sir Charles in setting aside the regulations, and added that further orders would be issued on the return of the Governor-General to Calcutta. On the 13th of April, 1850, Lord Dalhousie recorded a minute of concurrence in the views of his colleagues. In weighty but temperate words he pointed out the difficulty in which he was placed by the action of the Commander-in-Chief. "The effect of his Excellency's act has been to re-establish in the Punjab (for the Governor in Council will not sanction the extension of the change to districts to which his Excellency's order has not applied) a different rate of allowance from that which will prevail in other provinces; and thus in great measure to thwart the endeavour which the Governor-General in Council has been making to assimilate the soldiers' allowances in every province of the Presidency." . . . "His Excellency's orders have been given; they are hereby confirmed so far as regards the Punjab," but the Governor-General in Council "will not again permit the Commander-in-Chief, under any circumstances, to issue orders which shall change the pay and allowances of the troops serving in India, and thus practically to exercise an authority which has been reserved, and most properly reserved, for the supreme Government alone."

It would have been well for Sir Charles if he had accepted a principle founded on the rock of fact and law; and had he been well advised, the controversy

might have ended there. In writing to Sir John Hobhouse on the 23rd of April, 1850, Lord Dalhousie expressed his vexation, but apparently thought that the controversy was settled.

The Commander-in-Chief has lately issued an order which has compelled me to pull him up sharp. He has (without any reference to the Government) ordered that the compensation for Sepoys' rations in the Punjab shall be calculated at another and higher rate than that on which it is now calculated. He said he was sure it was a mistake of the Government, and therefore he had altered it! This was during my absence at sea. For six months, at the risk of discontent and mutiny, both of which have occurred, I have been doing my duty to the Company by getting rid of all extra allowances in any part of the provinces. By this order the Commander-in-Chief has thrown down all I have been doing. He re-establishes a differential rate of allowances in the Punjab, and the same thing will have to be done over again in a year or two as I have been doing now. It will be less in degree, but the same in principle. And yet I can't reverse the order; for the feeling is too feverish to admit of the Government disallowing an order for extra allowances to the army in the Punjab, issued by its own Commander-in-Chief. There was no earthly occasion for this. If he really thought it a mistake, why not refer to the President in Council? There was no haste; no Sepoy demanded it or thought of it. Yet off the order goes, and the mischief is done, for the present irreversibly. I have written officially, and have told him that for his future guidance the Governor-General in Council wishes to intimate that he will not permit the Commander-in-Chief to issue orders altering pay, and so to exercise an authority which does not belong to him, and which is reserved, and properly reserved, for the Governor-General in Council alone. I have been exceedingly vexed, and with reason.

While this letter and the official papers were on their way to London, and while Lord Dalhousie was hoping that the controversy was closed, Sir Charles Napier prepared a new surprise for him. On his way to Simla on the 1st of May, the Governor-General

met at Kasauli a junior officer of the Punjab Commission, who delivered to him a letter from Napier, dated the 26th of April, on the subject of the compensation to Sepoys, and of the Governor-General's reply to the Commander-in-Chief's second memorandum on the Punjab, and added that Sir Charles had mentioned his desire to have the letter delivered as soon as possible, "to put matters straight between us." To this letter a courteous but firm reply was written on the same evening, and despatched at once to Simla. There was no mention in the correspondence of any impending resignation.¹ On the following day Napier called upon the Governor-General, who observed that his manner was restrained and fidgety, and that altogether he was ill at ease; but nothing was then said upon the subject of the recent correspondence. On the 24th of May, 1850, Lord Dalhousie gave a dinner-party in honour of the Queen's birthday, and he has left an account of what followed in these words:—"The Commander-in-Chief sate on my left. He was very uneasy. The same evening Colonel Stuart told me he had just been informed by Lieutenant-Colonel Tucker that Sir Charles had that day signed his resignation to go by this mail, and that he had prepared a letter to me in answer to the Government's letter regarding Sepoys' compensation." On the next day Sir Charles called upon Lord Dalhousie.

¹ A reader wise after the event might perhaps see a threat of resignation in this passage from Sir Charles's letter, dated April 26, 1850: "I therefore feel satisfied that I was justified by circumstances in acting as I did. . . . At the same time, as Commander-in-Chief in India, I cannot be expected to expose myself willingly in future to such another reprimand for exercising my professional judgment in a critical moment, and when no higher authority than my own was on the spot; and even had the whole Supreme Council been there, I much doubt whether, in a question of mutiny, any of them would be so well able to judge as the Commander-in-Chief of the army." The extract at any rate proves that Napier did not regard the issue as a trifling point of discipline. To him it was a matter of the most serious responsibility.

“When he sat down he said, ‘Pray, Lord Dalhousie, do you ever sign papers without looking at them, as I am sure I do?’ ‘No,’ I replied, ‘I did not sign papers without knowing their contents; but why did he ask?’”¹ After some further remarks, “he rose to take his leave, and said quickly, ‘Well, I have sent in my answer to your letter and my resignation.’ I answered, ‘I was sorry there should be any difference of opinion between us; that I should answer his letter; but that I should not willingly say anything which could offend him.’ ‘Oh, there is nothing personal in the matter,’ he said. ‘Of course not,’ I replied, and so we shook hands a second time and parted. The letter, however, has not yet come: it is noon now, and the mail for England goes at 4 o’clock.”

This account was written on Sunday the 26th of May; and the letter referred to, although dated May the 22nd, did not reach Lord Dalhousie till 2 P.M. on the 26th, when “there was no time to give any reply to it by this mail, so I contented myself by writing to Sir John Hobhouse, acquainting him that I had received the letter, and pointing out its falsity and unsoundness in a few sentences. I directed his attention to the unfair advantage on Sir Charles’s part, if he had sent home his letter by this mail; since it was not accompanied by any explanation from me, and consequently for one fortnight he would have it all his own way.”

When Lord Dalhousie proceeded to read the memorandum, he could only describe it to friends at home as “the most discreditable paper that ever was traced by the pen of a public man.” The correspondence is open to the world, for it was ordered to be printed by the

¹ See below, p. 337.

House of Commons on the 2nd of March, 1854, and in the Broughton papers at the British Museum further light is thrown on it. It is therefore unnecessary here to say more about it than that Sir Charles reiterated his previous statements; asserted that he had acted as it became the Commander-in-Chief to act, and as in similar circumstances he would act again; and finally declared that, circumstanced as he was, he no longer felt safe, and should therefore resign a command which he could not retain under such restrictions with advantage to the public service.

In an exhaustive minute, dated the 14th of June, 1850, Lord Dalhousie showed that the orders on the subject of compensation were perfectly clear, that there were no grounds of necessity, or even of expediency, for suspending or cancelling them, and that the power of altering the pay and allowances of the troops under his command had never rested, and never ought to rest, with the Commander-in-Chief.

Sir Charles Napier's rejoinder was dated Simla, July 1850, but was eventually endorsed December the 4th, 1850, and sent in on that date. It was an angry running commentary on the Governor-General's minute, and only a few specimens of its temper need be given:—

Contain nothing to the purpose, mere recapitulation of my memorandum. . . . As to my libelling the Bengal army, it is an unjust and unfounded assertion which I think it sufficient indignantly to deny. . . . This is one of those assertions which his Lordship has been pleased to substitute for arguments. . . . In these paragraphs, 33 to 35, the Governor-General endeavours by the most extraordinary and the most disingenuous course of reasoning to describe the perfect obedience of the Indian army after I had put down the mutiny, as if that submissive state was not the result of my measures.

Lord Dalhousie replied in a minute, dated the 28th of 1851. January, 1851, which concluded with the hope that if the question were "revived in England in some other form," all the papers would be laid on the table of Parliament.

But long before this stage was reached, the 1850. responsible authorities had arrived at their own conclusion on the conflict which Sir Charles had provoked. Even without the Governor-General's minute of the 14th of June before him, the Duke of Wellington had commenced his review of the papers. When that minute reached him, he recorded his deliberate condemnation of Sir Charles Napier's conduct in the following words :—

I have no hesitation in stating my opinion that there existed no sufficient reason for the suspension of the rule or order of the 15th August, 1845, at Wazirabad: that the Governor-General was right and did no more than his duty, in the expression of his disapprobation of the act of the Commander-in-Chief, in suspending an order of Government in relation to the pay of the troops, and in ordering the adoption of a former repealed order providing for the same object. I regret that the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier, should have thought proper to resign the highest and most desired situation in the British Army, to fill which he had been selected in a manner so honourable to his professional character. But as he has resigned, and I declare my decided opinion that the Governor-General could not with propriety have acted otherwise than have expressed his disapprobation of the conduct of General Sir Charles Napier in suspending the order of Government of the 15th August, 1845, at Wazirabad, I must recommend Her Majesty to accept his resignation of the office.

The Court of Directors in a despatch, No. 18, dated the 7th of August, 1850, expressed themselves at great length, and, as might be expected, in even more decided terms. The supreme civil and military power vested, as they observed, by Act of Parliament¹ in the

¹ See chap. iv. p. 110.

Governor-General in Council, subject to the control of the authorities in England :—

Sir Charles Napier has now in effect declared that he will not be bound by the constitution of the Government of India as by law established, and has announced that he shall resign his command. This announcement obviates the necessity for any further remarks on his Excellency's proceedings, and we have only to state that immediate measures will be taken by us with the view to the appointment of a successor. . . . In conclusion we desire to express our entire satisfaction with the course pursued by the Governor-General, and our conviction that his Lordship has given to the Commander-in-Chief, during the whole tenure of his Excellency's command, the most cordial support which the paramount obligations of public duty would permit.—We are your affectionate friends, etc. (signed by eighteen Directors).

Such was the view taken by the supreme civil and military authorities of what has been described, with easy confidence, as a "trifling point of discipline"! If for the Commander-in-Chief to have thrown out of gear an important part of the military machine, to have openly flouted the Governor-General in Council, and to have declared himself outside the limits of that enactment by which his office was hedged in—if these be things "trifling," one would like to know to what actions the epithet "serious" would be rightly applied. Certainly Sir Charles himself consistently referred to his own action as of the highest moment and the salvation of India from a great danger.

Napier relinquished his command in December, and on the 6th of that month General Sir William Gomm replaced him. Writing to Mr. Fox Maule in October, Lord Dalhousie said that he "felt no pique against Napier"; and in a letter to Sir James Hogg of about the same date he remarked :—

As the Duke did not send a copy of his memorandum to Sir Charles himself, and as I received one only privately from Hobhouse, I have not felt myself entitled to send it on to Sir Charles publicly. Privately, I could neither show it nor send it; for H.E., while carefully observing official submission, has repudiated any private intercourse. He refused to call on me, although he sent to ask if I had any orders,¹ and though I replied that I should be happy to receive his Excellency at any time that he desired it; and he absented himself when I formally left the station, excusing himself on the score of indisposition. I have continued to the last the public respect and private courtesy with which I have invariably treated him.

Lord Dalhousie was indeed a stranger to all mean rancour, and in his treatment of Sir Charles in reference to the repayment of Sind prize-money, he even incurred censure from the home authorities. For on the issue of a second instalment of that money in April 1850, it was discovered by the finance office that on the former occasion there had been a miscalculation whereby an excessive grant had been made. To correct this error, orders were given that the excess should be recovered from each recipient by monthly instalments. In the case of Sir Charles the sum to be refunded was Rs. 20,000. It was with reference to this mistake that the Commander-in-Chief said to Lord Dalhousie, as already noticed: "Pray, Lord Dalhousie, do you ever sign papers without reading them?" The Marquis, when he understood the point of the question, expressed his regret at the miscalculation and its consequences, adding, however, that the

¹ How rigidly formal was Sir Charles's behaviour is indicated by the following note written on the eve of Lord Dalhousie's departure from Simla:—"To the Aide-de-Camp on duty. The Commander-in-Chief wishes to know whether the Governor-General has any commands for him, and if so at what hour his Lordship wishes the Commander-in-Chief to wait on his Lordship to receive them. Tuesday" (date not given, but on the back of it Lord Dalhousie has endorsed October the 8th, 1850).

refund must be made. Sir Charles said that he should remonstrate, and asked that the order for repayment should be suspended. To this, in view of the circumstances related in this chapter, the Governor-General assented, pending a reference to England. Sir Charles Napier's protest was not only worded in such violent terms as to defeat its object, but was addressed to the Board of Control, not, as it should have been, to the Court of Directors. The Court rejected it in firm language, and ordered the repayment to be made without further delay. To Sir James Hogg the Governor-General explained his action in a letter dated the 7th of October, 1850 :—

I was quite prepared to be snubbed for suspending the order on the Sind prize-money until a reply should be received from home regarding it ; but it will be dirty of the Court if they snub me publicly, when they know the circumstances in which I was placed, and the extreme desirableness of avoiding a rupture with Sir Charles Napier, if it were possible to do so. You are mistaken in supposing that I adopted this conciliatory act *after* his memorandum of resignation. It was *before* that paper came to me. If I had received the paper on resignation before he came to me about prize-money, I should not have suspended the latter order ; because, having made an open breach with the Government, he would have left me no wish to conciliate. But before his declaration of war I thought it worth while to soothe, especially as the Court would lose nothing by four months' delay.

1850. Fortunately for the Governor-General's health and peace there had been a break in his residence at Simla between the middle of June and the end of September. Finding that the rainfall in the interior was less, and that the climate in the Hill State of Bashahr was in every way more suitable than that of Simla, he, under medical advice, proceeded with his wife to Chini. There he was within forty hours' communica-

tion with his secretariats, and his work was sent out to him every day by relays of mounted messengers. This narrative of the journey to and from Chini recalls those written in early life while wandering in Wales, the Highlands, and Italy. Just as Bishop Heber's diary was always at his side during his tour in Bengal and in the North-Western Provinces, so now he carries with him Captain Gerard's *Travels in Kunawar*, verifying or correcting his information as he goes along, and making a thorough study of the Hill country, its institutions, and its inhabitants. But his chief relief and happiness lay in the quiet enjoyment of the scenery in the society of his wife. He had endured for nearly two years a more than common load of responsibilities and worries. He now yielded himself up to the pleasures of outdoor life and the enchantment of the landscape around him. To his sympathetic and meditative mind nature was the gentlest of nurses, and in the forests, mountains, and glades he forgot his cares. The radiance of the world shone upon him, and every transformation of its face brought a new delight to his soul. The rustling poplars that fringed the murmuring torrents, the terraced valleys planted with apricots, peaches, and pears, the wilderness of rocks strewn in ponderous confusion over the hillside, "the wreck of some great terrestrial convulsion," groves of gigantic cedars or splendid deodars of enormous girth, and in the distance the towering snow-clad mountains of the roof of the world, gave constant variety to the scene. The shivering pale light of the moon as it deepened the black shade of the rocks and forests, while adding to the brilliancy of the white foam into which the Satlaj lashed its waters, or the roseate tints of the rising sun as it warmed with its glow the freezing masses of Kylas

and the cold grey cliffs hanging sheer above the river, impressed him deeply. Every valley brought a fresh surprise. In one, the fields were pink with the blossom of the millet, and patches of the Prince's feather stood out with their deep crimson colour. In another, the rich vines carried their various hues of purple and green up the sides of the Kunawar slopes. In a third, his eye rested upon the more sombre hues of dark-foliaged shrubs and trees which nestled in the recesses of the ravines and the beds of water-courses. The weather was generally fine, with a clear sky overhead, and favourable to constant excursions. Of these the visit to the Kanum monastery, and the view of the "Pyramidical peak 20,106 feet, without snow," beyond Leepee, "whence we looked into Chinese Tartary," gave the greatest pleasure to the party. Even rain and storm brought with them compensations as Lord Dalhousie and his wife watched their devastating course through forest and mountain from their "happy home" at Chini.

The society of his wife and her enjoyment of life and renewed health added largely to his happiness. Lord Dalhousie was proud of the courage with which she rode her pony up polished staircases of rock, or was carried in her "tray" on the shoulders of the hillmen over frail bridges or dangerous passes; and when on the 21st of September the coolies gathered for the return journey, it was with a regretful retrospect that he wrote :—

Annoyances and anxieties never can be altogether shaken off, wherever one goes; but on the whole I have spent three months in this valley as happily as any that I have passed this many a long day. I have enjoyed that blessing which experience of its contrary has taught me now to value as holding the first place in

worldly beatitudes—good health. I have seen with delight my wife gradually increasing in strength and vigour. We have lived in the daily contemplation of Nature's noblest works ; and have calmly luxuriated in a climate which the elements, earth, air, and water, have combined to render perfect. It is no wonder that I have enjoyed these things, and the tranquillity which has permitted me to enjoy them to the full. No wonder that I set out with a sigh on my return to the busier and less-favoured regions of my charge.

Simla was reached without any undue delay, and there the Governor-General remained until the 31st of October, when 150 elephants and thousands of camels were collected at the foot of the hills to carry his camp and his followers on his second tour through the Punjab.

CHAPTER X

THE SECOND TOUR IN THE PUNJAB

The true significance of Indian tours—Questions to be settled in the second Punjab tour—The temper of the Punjab army, and the attitude of Gulab Sing—Heavy labours of the tour and effect upon the health of Lord and Lady Dalhousie—Some incidents of the march—Earthquakes and storms—Accident to Lord Dalhousie—General sketch of the route followed and chief functions—Information gained as to the loyalty of the army and the temper of the civil population—Public appreciation of honours conferred by Government—Contrast between British rule and those which preceded it—The Raja of Balsan—Second visit to Amritsar and its Temple—Inspection of works ordered on former tour—Salt mines, coal, tea—Lord Dalhousie's views on reproductive works—His personal share in the work of the Punjab administration—Acts of personal kindness—Interview with Gulab Sing, its object and effects—Reception of frontier chiefs at Mari and Peshawar—Criticisms on the tour in Parliament and the Press—Lord Dalhousie's plan in arranging receptions—The reception at Simla of Hill Chiefs—The grand darbar at Pinjore—The profits of the tour, and tragedy at Amritsar.

10-1851. IF any one on reading the title of this chapter should be disposed to think that Lord Dalhousie, having now reached a year of profound tranquillity, would have done better to devote himself to secretariat work at the centre of his Government, instead of giving up his time to a triumphal progress through the Punjab, he would miss the true significance of an Indian tour. An annual visit of inspection is the pivot of Indian administration,

the beginning and the end of all consolidation and reform. By its means the Collector of a district, the Commissioner of a division, and the head of a province, each in his sphere, informs himself as to the wants and the resources of his charge, studies the characters and capabilities of his subordinates, disposes on the spot of appeals preferred against the decisions of local officers, encourages good service, and puts together his own conclusions upon weighty measures of internal improvement or of legislation. Thoroughness of detail was a characteristic of Lord Dalhousie, and he ever bore in mind that a sound knowledge of detail was the foundation of all that was good and lasting in policy. At the Board of Trade he had attributed Gladstone's success to his mastery of facts and to his close study of the papers bearing on the subject in hand. He had treasured up in his memory the words used in his presence by the Duke of Wellington—"when you are sure that you know the full power of your troops and how to handle them, you are able to give your mind altogether to the greater considerations which the presence of the enemy forces upon you." This principle was as true when applied to civil as to military affairs.

Lord Dalhousie had been hindered by the second Sikh war in carrying out the programme of moral and material development which, at the dinner given by the Court of Proprietors on the 4th of November, 1848, he had declared to be the main ambition of his official life. Now he was anxious to give substance to the general ideas on prison discipline, public works, improved accommodation for troops, education, and police reorganisation, which were floating before his mind, and he felt that no better opportunities for study and for the application of systems could be found than those

lying before him in the province which was in a special sense under his control, and in which the ablest representatives of the Indian services were at work. It happened at the time that John Lawrence had been seriously ill, and it would do him good to proceed on tour with the Governor-General; while Lord Dalhousie had no doubt as to the value of the lessons he himself could learn from the wide practical experience of Indian affairs acquired by a man of such administrative grasp.

In planning an extensive tour through the Punjab, the Governor-General therefore expected to settle many imperial questions, and amongst them the thorny problem of the north-western frontier. But, apart from these larger objects, there were local considerations which weighed with him in turning his steps from Simla to the west rather than towards Calcutta. Sir Charles Napier had declared that the Punjab army was ripe for mutiny, that the temper of the people was disloyal, and that Gulab Sing was not to be trusted. On each of these points Lord Dalhousie determined he would either verify or correct his own judgment. He had rejected Napier's assertions as idle tales, but he would put them to the further test of personal investigation. Sir Charles had been asked to assist the Government and the Board with his opinion on various military matters, of which the selection of cantonments and a scheme of local defence and fortification on the frontier were the most pressing. He had, however, left India without giving any decision on these points; the season had proved to be exceptionally unhealthy, and the large force stationed in the Punjab was suffering severely from the lack of proper accommodation. It was time, therefore, that an end should be put to this uncertainty and delay. There were also certain matters in which the Board needed

advice. The measures adopted by them in regard to the salt mines had not proved quite as successful as had been expected; criminal returns on the frontier showed that improved means were wanted for the protection of life and property in the neighbourhood of the savage tribesmen; and on revenue questions inevitable differences of opinion required the final voice of authority. It is true that in this last respect there was less of friction than before, for when Mansel's place was taken by Robert Montgomery, Commissioner of Lahore, the Board consisted of three men who, as boys, had known the same discipline at Foyle College. But the change did not bring unanimity on all points, and Lord Dalhousie, who had never expected three men to have the mind of one, knew that the best contribution he himself could make to the Punjab administration would be his own commanding presence and counsel. During his tour he accordingly took occasion to visit courts and police stations with Montgomery, to receive the Sikh nobility with Henry Lawrence, and to ride his marches through the districts with John, thus giving each of them the best opportunities of explaining their views and hearing his own. There was a more important object which he had in view. He could take a part in pacifying the Punjab which no other man in India could fill. He possessed a special gift of manner and heart that enabled him to turn darbars to political profit. His natural dignity of bearing conformed to the high standard of stateliness required by Eastern custom. At the same time his sympathy, and a sense of humour which softened but never sacrificed that dignity, lent ease and grace to ceremonies that in other hands have often proved tediously formal. British officers now serving in India can well remember the warmth of language

with which Mir Ali Murad, the Raja of Nabha, and other Indian princes who had exchanged visits with Lord Dalhousie, recalled the pleasure of these meetings. The Governor-General felt that the time had arrived for making a friend of the ruler of Kashmir, for striking terror at Kabul and along the frontier by a friendly gathering of border chiefs, for rewarding the loyalty of Sikh princes on this side of the Satlaj, and for showing the Hill States along the Himalayan wall that they had nothing to fear from their new Suzerain by whose might the kingdom of Ranjit Sing had been crushed.

A tour planned with such far-reaching objects at a time when the country traversed had only lately come under British rule—when telegraphs, railways, trunk roads, bridges, rest-houses, were things unknown or of rare occurrence—was not likely to be such a progress of ease as that with which modern Viceroys of India are alone familiar. But Lord Dalhousie's dominating sense of public duty to be done, however arduous it might be, left him no option, and his wife's devotion to her husband made her conceal any misgivings which may have occurred to her. That there was room for such misgivings is plain enough now; and the perusal of Lord Dalhousie's papers will, I think, lead to the impression that the early death of both husband and wife was in some measure due to the hardships they endured in travelling for six months through the Punjab at a season of great unhealthiness and with constant exposure to inclement weather. From this tour onwards references to the ill-health of his wife and to the acute and constant pain in his own leg become more and more frequent in the pages of his diary. The outward march to Peshawar carried the party through the worst of the fever season, while the return journey encountered

many storms, and before they reached Simla, on the 12th of May, 1851, the hot season was far advanced. The Hill capital had been left on the 31st of October, 1850, and it was not till the 18th of the following March that they turned their faces homeward. Between Attock and Simla they halted but one day, and then only because their baggage animals were too worn out to carry on their tents. In the last fifty days they made fifty-two marches, averaging more than ten miles each, besides crossing six large rivers, of which two only were bridged.

The strain put upon the travellers was felt by both ; and though Lord Dalhousie recorded his belief that, despite fatigue, their health had been greatly improved by the long spell of active life, yet looking at the sequel by the light of later admissions and experiences, one may venture to doubt whether this first impression was really justified. Some at least of the more stirring incidents of the tour cannot have been altogether beneficial to the health of the travellers. The prevalence of fever in the Jullunder Doab through which they first passed was so great, that the hospitals at all the cantonments on the line of march were full, and on several occasions military reviews were abandoned in consequence. On the 6th of November, 1850, the Governor-General wrote to Hogg :—

I am marching towards the Manjha, where there are things I want to look into myself. It is still very hot, and the sickness is very great indeed among Europeans and natives alike. Every third man is laid up with fever, and the cold weather is looked for anxiously to drive the evil away.

When they arrived at the Indus, near Khairabad, they found their bridge of boats swept away, and they themselves were forced to return to the discomforts of a

camp that was partly broken up. On another occasion they crossed the Beas on a raft composed of four *massaks*, or inflated skins, with the frame of a country bedstead fixed across, at either end of which was a chair upon which dignity was represented by a scarlet cloth. More than once they experienced earthquakes, one of which near Naoshera brought down some of their tents at one o'clock in the morning, and drove their elephants and horses wild with terror. The Governor-General himself became very sick and uncomfortable, having all the sensations produced by a violent thunderstorm. Writing to Mr. Shepherd, he said :—

We have been truly comfortless, wet above, below, and on both sides. However, nobody has suffered seriously. If the rains abated and the earthquake ceased to rock, there was still the risk of a dust-storm, which on one occasion brought down a large tent upon the heads of Lake and William Hay, who escaped houseless and nearly naked to the nearest Samaritan who still had a shelter to offer them.

If life under canvas was exposed to such discomforts, it was still more uncomfortable to be drenched to the skin when inspecting forts or works at a distance from the camp. More than once Lord Dalhousie had a fall from his horse owing to the treacherous nature of the ground over which he rode. The most serious of all his adventures of this sort occurred near Dharamsala, on the 24th of April, 1851, towards the close of his tour. He was riding upon his little Arab, called after his friend "Oswald," along a path cut out of the side of a hill, with a precipice on his left. In front of him was a man leading a camel, carrying on its back a small tent with the poles tied on to it. The camel-man, anxious no doubt to make way for the "Lord Sahib," and getting flurried, pulled at the camel, which suddenly swerved

across the road, bringing the poles into collision with the Governor-General, who could not rein back for fear of going over the precipice. His horse, swept off his legs, fell to the bottom of the ravine, and Lord Dalhousie was thrown on to his side, his face covered with blood, and his leg twisted. "By the mercy of Providence," as he devoutly exclaimed, he suffered no serious injury, although he was unable to use his leg for a few days.

Other incidents of camp-life, less dangerous in character, although at times with a tragedy of their own, broke the monotony of the march. On one occasion the elephants had been sent to their feeding-place, and one of them, a perfectly quiet animal, was munching some stalks of sugar-cane, when the attendant of another elephant removed the stalks. The elephant, resenting his action, extended its trunk round the man's neck and threw him on one side, crushing his skull like an egg-shell. On another occasion an elephant, which had been presented to the Governor-General by Dhulip Sing, caused some alarm by refusing to cross the Indus at Attock, and neither kindness nor punishment could induce it to proceed. It was accordingly left behind. Lord Dalhousie found consolation in these discomforts by reflecting that he was learning the true significance of district life in India, and sharing with his subordinates its hardships as well as its pleasures. Of the former no experience was more painful to him and his wife than the anxious waiting for letters from home, especially as they had received tidings of the illness of one of their children. His heart yearned to be with his daughters within the old walls of the castle. "The sweetest chapters in their lives are being written while we are far away, transported to this penal settlement."

Yet a sense of duty braced him, as it has done so many others of his countrymen, in the endurance of domestic sacrifices which are hardly to be realised without the bitter experience of what they mean.

But it is time to pass from these typical incidents of the march to learn its effects; and in the first place it may be well to get a general view of the country visited. The Governor-General had previously traversed the Punjab from north to south; he now passed through the breadth of it from east to west, and back again. The month of November was mainly spent in the Jullunder Doab, which had been annexed by his predecessor, and of which Ranjit Sing had said to Lord Hardinge, that he had gathered "the rose of the Punjab." Leaving this district, Lord Dalhousie crossed the river Beas at Pathankot and entered the Bari Doab, the country lying between the Beas and the Ravi, including the Manjha or central home of the Sikhs, with the sister cities Amritsar, the religious capital, and Lahore, the political capital, of the former Sikh kingdom. Numerous villages, inhabited by a sturdy and industrious peasantry, and teeming with rich crops, met his eye on every side. At Lahore he spent a fortnight in hard work and frequent conference with the heads of the administration. On the 23rd of December he proceeded to Wazirabad, where he received the Maharaja of Kashmir, and then continued his march through the Rechna Doab, between the Ravi and the Chenab. Crossing the latter river on the 6th of January, 1851, he visited the fields of battle in the Jhech or Chaj Doab, and passed over the Jhelum into the upper portions of the Sind Sagar Doab, a plateau of tableland, abrupt, rocky, and precipitous, and very different in contour from the sandy plains of the same Doab south

of the salt range, which he had seen on his way to Multan in the previous year. From Rawal Pindi, his northernmost point, he on the 31st of January turned his steps south in the direction of the Indus, near Mari, where on the 15th of February the frontier chiefs were received in darbar. Thence his course took him northwards again to Attock; the Indus was crossed in March; and Peshawar became his headquarters till the 18th of that month. On the 15th he gave audience to the Hazara Chiefs, and with Lady Dalhousie visited the entrances to the Khaibar Pass. The neighbourhood of the Afridi clans made this excursion one of some little hazard; but Lumsden's Irregular Horse patrolled round the party, and no mishap occurred. John Lawrence, Colin Campbell, and other authorities on the subject were present to discuss the burning question of the abandonment of Jamrud and other topics of frontier policy. The return journey to Simla followed in the main the route previously taken, and afforded opportunity for testing the progress made in carrying out the orders given for the construction of roads and cantonments or the planting of trees. At Dinanagar the camp divided on the 18th of April, the Governor-General proceeding with a small party through Kangra and the territory of Mandi to Simla, which was reached on the 12th of May. There, after several weeks of official work, Lord Dalhousie completed the remainder of his original programme. The Hill Chiefs, whose acquaintance had already been made, the leading "barons of the hills" of inferior rank, and Raja Sahib Dayal, were received with full honours in a succession of three darbars held on the 20th of October and these again were followed by a splendid assemblage on the 28th, to which the cis-Satlaj princes were bidden.

Orders were then issued for the march to Calcutta, and Simla was left on the 4th of November.

The concentration for so many months of the time and attention of the Governor-General upon the affairs of the Punjab was not without its drawbacks. His absence from the capital was of course severely criticised by Calcutta society, and even in Parliament disparaging comment was not unheard. But before we examine the losses, it is well to look at the profits of the tour. Lord Dalhousie had been told that the Punjab army was mutinous and the Sikh nation discontented. What were his experiences on these two points? Of the state of the army he could only judge by report, but what he learnt induced him to trust the Sikh soldiery, and it is matter of history that this trust was fully justified. There had been some alarm at army headquarters in consequence of a rumour that the 1st Sikh Regiment had refused the war *batta*, or gratuity, that fell to its share at the conclusion of the hostilities. Colonel Hodgson reassured the Governor-General on this subject, citing as one instance of marked loyalty the conduct of a native officer of the regiment. During the troubles in the Jullunder Doab, young Peel and thirty of his men advanced against a large body of rebels. Peel was cut down, and the remnant of his small party retired, all except the Jamadar, who, refusing to leave his wounded officer, and defying the insurgents, fell hacked to pieces over the Sahib's body. With such a spirit in it, the regiment might be trusted. As to the refusal of *batta*, what had really occurred, and what the Governor-General with good reason described as conduct "highly creditable," was this. When the issue of the gratuity was made, the regiments declined in a manly and respectful manner to take "blood-

money" for fighting against their brethren. They said they had done their duty and were content with what they had received. They had drawn their swords against their countrymen, and they desired no reward beyond the sense of having done a painful duty. At Buddi Pind the Governor-General found a native battery proudly conscious of the honour of possessing the guns which they had served at Jalalabad, and upon which Lord Ellenborough had caused an inscription to be engraved. When Mayne, who was one of the "illustrious garrison," rode over to see them, he was welcomed with the utmost enthusiasm. The respect with which even dead British officers were remembered told to Lord Dalhousie a tale of good feeling and confidence which added weight to these incidents. At Amritsar an old soldier recounted with delight his reminiscences of Lord Lake, "Leek Sahib," under whom he had pursued Holkar to the banks of the Beas, and he was presently joined by another who claimed the same honour. Evidently these veterans were not ashamed of their exploits under the British. From all sides came evidence of the same nature, and so entirely was Lord Dalhousie assured of the loyalty which had been questioned, that when visiting places of interest he did not hesitate to go about "literally without a single guard of my own, attended only by a company of one of the Khalsa regiments for my escort." The confidence thus shown could not fail to beget confidence in return, and John Lawrence illustrated by many anecdotes the trust which Natives had already learnt to repose in their British rulers. One of these, amusing in its naïveté, may here be told. On a certain occasion in 1847 the well-known chief Fateh Khan Towana, paying a visit to Lawrence, asked what was meant by the fuss made

about the trial of Lal Sing, adding, "If you want him out of the way, I know a much shorter plan. Just say the word and" (half-drawing his dagger) "I'll manage it all for you." Lawrence shook his head, and the conversation continued. Presently Lawrence put out his hand and drew Fateh Khan's dagger slowly out of its sheath. The chief took no notice, but went on talking. Lawrence then said to him, "How is it that you who are so suspicious of anybody, allow me to extract your dagger from your belt without taking any notice of it?" "Oh," he replied, "I know quite well that that is not the way the English fight. I would not have let a Sikh or any one else do it so quietly." When a savage chieftain was so entirely won over by British character and methods, Lord Dalhousie felt that these influences must be surely working with the same results of mutual confidence and respect in the ranks of the army.

It was a more difficult task to gauge the temper of the civil population. Obviously the British administrators could never come into personal contact with the mass of them. Thus the leaven of European influence must work more slowly than in a regiment, and the opportunities for feeling the pulse of the general population must be fewer. Nevertheless the Governor-General found sufficient material on which to base reassuring conclusions. He laid stress upon the public esteem in which the recipients of honours conferred by the Government were held in Native society. Some of his successors have been too apt to overlook the rules of proportion and selection in the bestowal of Native titles which were observed in former times, and too lavish a distribution has debased the currency of Native titles of nobility such as Raja and Rao Sahib, so that they no longer pass at their face value. But

when Lord Dalhousie saw that men honoured for public services by the State received honour from their fellow-men, he had cause for satisfaction in their bestowal. It was still more reassuring to find that on all sides the people were sensible of an improvement in their lot and outlook. There was a spirit of contentment in the air, a sense of deliverance from peril and trouble, with the attendant gratitude to the hand which had brought about such a result. Time had not dulled their memories to the contrast between the present and the near past, while it was in vain for political agitators to deny what the people could see with their own eyes and hear with their own ears. It was upon the blessings which British peace and justice were giving to nobles and subjects of all degrees, and upon the popular estimation of them, that the Governor-General built his firm hopes. He could not, moreover, fail to perceive that he himself was welcomed with more than courtesy. Those whom he had met before received him as an old friend. His experiences in public darbar were hardly less gratifying. Altogether, upon the several facts which came before him in his progress, he saw good reason to confirm the views he had expressed to the Court of Directors, and his own earnest wishes. He felt confident, in short, that all was going on as well as could possibly be expected.

It would be easy to fill many pages with extracts from letters written to the President of the Board and to the Chairman of the Court, stating in full the grounds of his satisfaction. To both of these correspondents he wrote at full length, "because the system which now prevails in India of corresponding with newspapers from all points, and the greater attention which seems every year to be given by English journals to each flying

rumour that they find in an Indian one, might lead you to suppose that these events, always exaggerated, were really of moment ; and might incline you to fancy that I was telling you there was peace when there was no peace." To counteract this tendency he related to Hobhouse and Shepherd numerous proofs of the pleasure with which titles conferred by Government, or other distinctions from the same source, were received by the leaders of Native society. These he regarded as good signs of our established influence.

But the spirit of contentment rested upon a stronger basis of general gratitude. At Hoshiarpur Captain Abbott's prompt measures in rescuing the town from a flood by the construction of an embankment, led to a popular demonstration of thankfulness, a feeling emphatically declared in the words "under the Government we are growing fat." The Mahomedans in Lahore were loud in their recognition of the respect shown to their religion, a respect made patent not merely by formal toleration, but also in a concrete shape by the repairs undertaken in the case of their tombs, sarais, and mosques, so often the objects of contumely and plunder at the hands of the Sikhs. The blessings of order and public peace were, indeed, in such marked contrast with the long and recent experience of the inhabitants of the Province, that they could not but be felt and valued. The language used in *darbar* by the Maharaja Gulab Sing, "Now I live in peace and security, my kindred are with me, and I owe it all to the British Government, which is now planted in the heavens and will remain," was echoed in the villages and plains of the Punjab. The effects of the old régime were still visible by the side of the new order. From his camp at Dandi the Governor-General looked out upon the scene of

constant clan fights, of whose enduring consequences he notes : "So much was this the case, and so savage were the encounters, that the present scarcity of the population is ascribed to the number of people then slain on both sides, or who fled the country in consequence of the turmoil." Elsewhere the desolation was caused by the Sikhs and not by the clans. Writing at Peshawar, with the narrative of Lieutenant Raverty and Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone before him, Lord Dalhousie repeats a conversation with a *bania*, or trader :—

He told us that all this desolation was the doing of the Sikhs. He pointed out the spacious bounds of the garden, stretching from a small ruin in a little clump of trees, with a solitary date-palm beside it, quite across the front of what was the Bala Hissar and is now the fort, as far as a point to the eastward, parallel with the corner of the city wall. The Sikhs cut down all the timber for their cantonments, he said ; they destroyed the fruit-trees and laid waste the garden ; and he shook his head angrily as he said it.

Major Chamberlain had the same story to tell in Hazara. He described the country as strong and the people contented.

They have good reason to be so ; for while the Sikhs squeezed six or eight lacs out of the country every year, we by our light assessment take little more than two lakhs of rupees ; every pice of which is spent by ourselves in the country from which it is taken, and much more in addition to it.

The short but disastrous visit which in 1849 the Afghans paid to the valleys hereabouts went far to reconcile the inhabitants to British rule. Lord Dalhousie writes :—

The Afghans plundered everything ; ill-used their women, insulted their chief men ; and the leaders, when complaint was made to them, were unable or unwilling to afford redress. Hence

they left the valley execrated ; while we are welcomed, infidels as we are, with blessings, in exchange for the Sikh or the Durani oppression.

The sentiments which he thus thoughtfully collected as he went along were not superficial remarks, merely designed to please him. He was keen to distinguish between flattery and truth, and to measure accurately the compliments paid to him. When he was riding in March with Sir Colin Campbell near Shamsabad the people collected together and took off their *pagaris* with exaggerated marks of profound respect. The Governor-General "scented supplication in their attitude," invited them to express their wishes, and forwarded their complaints to the Board for investigation. But it was only on rare occasions that the voice of pure welcome was exchanged for that of supplication. When the Hill States of Mandi and Sukhet were entered, and the upper waters of the Beas reached, it was still the same note of satisfaction that reached Lord Dalhousie's ears, and he gives this explanation of it :—

Both States are tributary to us. Sukhet, out of 70,000 rupees of annual revenue, pays us 11,000. Mandi, out of a revenue of three lakhs, pays us one. Under the Sikhs the position was exactly the reverse. During their sway they took two lacs and left Mandi only one. We liberally restored the Raja and doubled his revenue. Hence the feeling towards us is very good.

The Sikhs were no worse neighbours than the Afghans and the Ghurkhas. The old Raja of Balsan, living to the east of Simla, told the Governor-General how he had captured a fort from the Ghurkhas, who had posted there a garrison of 300 men to overawe the country, and held the inhabitants under a grinding tyranny.

They seized^d everything, killed or carried off their women, and forced them (as Jog Raj said, displaying the bangle on his wrist),

to 'sell all their ornaments for subsistence. Their oppression at last rose beyond endurance, and the Raja, then a young man, resolved to strike a desperate blow, though the English, who were then engaged in war with the Nepalese, had not commenced their marked successes. He sent away all the women to Pinjore, collected his people, and carried the fort by assault.

I have dwelt at some length upon the experiences which led Lord Dalhousie to be well satisfied as to the state of feeling in the Punjab. The narrative will, I hope, enable those who read it to see the progress of pacification through the eyes of the chief actor, and at the same time help them to realise more fully the meaning of a phrase which strikes the keynote to that actor's annexation policy,—the “blessings of British rule.” Lord Dalhousie consolidated British dominion not merely in the Punjab, but also in the very heart of the continent of India, although the process was in the former case by conquest, and in the latter by escheat or lapse. His motives cannot be duly appraised without dwelling upon the lessons which he learnt during his six months' tour in the north-western portion of the empire. By his side were the men whose names are most esteemed by their country as the builders up of its dominions over the seas, the Lawrences, Napier of Magdala, Colin Campbell, Edwardes, Montgomery, Neville Chamberlain, and Nicholson. He spared himself no labour or exertion in studying the facts, and when the time came to act, no influences of character or environment left a clearer impress upon his public actions than the training he had received and the conclusions forced upon him during a protracted period of close observation on the spot.

The first fruits of his experiences were gathered by the newly annexed territories, but the whole empire

also shared in them. The selection of the site of many cantonments, the decision as to the locality of sanitary depôts in the Hills, the alignment of the great trunk roads, the dismantling of some forts and the strengthening of others, the construction of improved barracks, the choice between different large schemes of irrigation, and a general survey of the Indus and the Jhelum for purposes of regular communication, were some of the "sensible benefits which my moving about the country produced." Reference has already been made to Lord Dalhousie's scrupulous toleration of religions other than his own, to his care for the preservation of edifices held in honour by the natives of the country, and to the delicacy with which, as at Amritsar, he shrank from wounding the pious feelings of priestly reverence. On revisiting that place during his second tour he entered the sacred shrine wearing a pair of velvet boots sent to him by Sardar Jodh Sing, and his record of his own feelings will show the spirit in which he acted and desired others to act. He listened to the recital of passages from the Granth, and "as I knew that the volume from which the old man read taught the power and goodness of the one true God, and inculcated lessons of purity and benevolence, I left the shrine with a feeling of reverence both for the doctrine and the ceremonial of a religion which, though not the true faith, had something of the truth within it."

In a similar spirit of honour and respect for those who had devoted their lives to the service of their country he was careful to see that satisfactory arrangements were made for the custody of their graves, and he ordered an obelisk to be erected to the memory of those who had fallen at Chilianwalla. He also sanctioned

a liberal grant for the completion of the tomb of Ranjit Sing. Educational and medical wants were noted; the salt mines were inspected and the organisation of the department carefully examined, with the gratifying impression that the revenue was rapidly expanding under proper management. He had been led to expect that coal could be profitably worked, and there were some who would have him believe that gold was to be found in paying quantities in the neighbourhood of the Indus. As regards the former he wrote to Hogg on the 18th of February, "It exists, but the quantity is very doubtful"; the latter scheme he dismissed in more peremptory fashion. On the other hand, he stimulated the efforts being made to introduce tea-plantations into Kangra and the Hill stations, and his foresight told him that in that industry lay a hope for the large and constant employment of labour even when seasons of famine and distress should devastate the plains. While, too, his more immediate attention was given to matters incident upon his march, his position enabled him to extend to other provinces of India any discovery or reform which he found to be beneficial in the Punjab. As to finance, the conviction was forced upon him that the ordinary revenues of the country could only meet ordinary charges, and that it would be sound economy to construct reproductive works out of borrowed capital. Upon this principle the railways and irrigation schemes of India have since been successfully developed, though before his time such a use of credit was considered to be the road to ruin. Among other reforms which, owing to his powerful advocacy, spread through India from the north was the creation of a jails department under an Inspector-General, a measure resulting alike in

discipline and humanity. Mr. Thomason in the North-western Provinces, to whose ability the whole empire owed much in the spread of education and in the settlement of the land revenue, was the first provincial Governor to demonstrate the value of prison reform; but it was owing to Lord Dalhousie that Bengal, the Punjab, and later on the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, carried out a similar reorganisation of their jails.

It is not to be supposed that Lord Dalhousie took credit to himself for the splendid work of consolidation which his able subordinates were accomplishing in the Punjab, and of which he saw the evidences written large in pleasant countenances and smiling plains. But if the Lawrences turned chaos into order, if Napier designed public works of lasting fame, and if Colin Campbell formed plans of frontier defence, their energies would have gone but half-rewarded owing to long official delays and tedious correspondence, had not the Governor-General been on the spot to give his approval or to require further information. Zealous officials know that ready access to the authority which holds the purse is of the first importance in carrying out their projects, and, whenever it was possible, Lord Dalhousie was eager to meet the demands made upon him. But his share in the great work of administration was not confined to sanction. It was he who initiated in some cases, and put into shape in many others, the system which his officers applied to the Province of the Five Rivers. No one can read the numerous minutes which he recorded during his tour without marvelling at the wide range of his activity and his grasp of his subject. At a time when the affairs of the Nizam and various projects

of law were occupying his attention, he found leisure, when his day's march was over, to write comprehensive minutes upon geological surveys, river surveys, tangled questions of succession to Patadari shares, water-rates, the composition and accoutrement of irregular forces and the police, cantonments, roads, bridges, fortifications, and frontier defences, criminal justice, capital punishment, extradition, and qualifications for civil employment. On one subject, although of less importance than those just enumerated, I am tempted to make a fuller reference to his minute, because I have observed in the biographies of some of his subordinates that the credit has been monopolised for others. They no doubt carried to completion, but it was he as certainly who conceived the work. His long minute, dated the 24th of February, 1851, on the subject of the plantation of timber and fruit-trees, makes no reference whatever to cut-and-dry proposals submitted for his approval. After drawing a picture of the desolate plains, "neither adorned by the foliage which is its natural ornament, nor stocked with the timber requisite for a thousand purposes in the everyday life of the people who dwell in it," and reviewing the causes of its desolation and its natural capacities, he observes that the Government is bound to devise some means for supplying the deficiency of shade and of fuel. Mentioning his discussion of the difficulties with Montgomery, he proceeds to sketch plans for reserving and taking up land, supplying plants to the villagers, rewarding land-owners for cultivating or protecting them, and regularly planting the roadsides and the banks of canals with certain classes of quick-growing trees. Such plans are enforced by appeals to the district officers to enter heartily into his project :—

None of us can live to see the complete result of that which we now propose to commence; few of us will gather the fruit where now we plant. But if we succeed in framing the design and advance it in some degree towards completion, we may at least enjoy the satisfaction of feeling that we shall leave behind us an heritage for which posterity will be grateful.

Two incidents of no great importance in themselves will explain the secret of the magnetic influence which the Governor-General exercised not merely over the princes and nobles of India, but also over natives of all degree. The Hill Raja of Balsan, whose capture of a fort from the Ghurkhas has already been mentioned,¹ was never tired of pointing out to visitors the scene of his exploit. One day Lord Dalhousie carried with him a telescope, and after taking a long view of the fort at a turn of the road, he presented it to the old man, telling him that it would help him in his old age to see the place which in his youth he had so bravely taken with his own sword. A spontaneous act of this kind, where there was no formal ceremony of reception or of exchange of gifts, naturally evoked a warm attachment.

On another occasion when entering a rest-house, the Governor-General found a Bengali Brahman, Sdeo Prasad, deeply engaged in reading. Taking the book, he found it to be Mayo's *Elements of Physiology*, and entering into conversation on the subject, he made a note of certain studies in which the young man was interested, and ordered for him a set of the volumes of the Bridgewater Treatises bearing upon them. In recording this incident, the Governor-General gives a list of three or four educated natives from the Benares and Delhi Colleges whom he had met on his tour, noting

¹ Page 358.

their educational qualifications and their official duties, and adding, "these are some of the fruits of our rule, and I hope there are many such." What part he later on took in the shaping of a national scheme of education will be shown in due course.

The first and most important of the great darbars which the Governor-General held in the course of this tour was for the reception of Gulab Sing, Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir, at Wazirabad on the 26th of December, 1850. Jammu was the capital of a Hill principality founded many centuries ago by the Rajputs. With other Hill States it fell under the suzerainty of the Lion of the Punjab, Ranjit Sing, who conferred its government upon Gulab Sing, a member of the old dynasty, together with the title of Raja. Kashmir, on the other hand, had been ruled by Moghal and later on by Afghan governors, from which last Ranjit Sing wrested it in 1819, eventually uniting it with Jammu. After the first Sikh war Gulab Sing was deputed to treat for peace, and upon Kashmir being ceded, it was made a principality under Maharaja Gulab Sing, his authority being established by the aid of British troops. In the second Sikh war it was a matter of doubt how the Maharaja would behave, and after the unsatisfactory actions with which the campaign opened, it was reported that he was giving the enemy shelter and passage, and protecting their property in Jammu. The replies made by him when his attention was called to the matter were far from satisfactory. Accordingly, after the battle of Chilianwalla, Lord Dalhousie gave to the Resident instructions which admitted of no ambiguity.

Maharaja Gulab Sing requests plain and explicit orders; tell him that when the Sikhs are defeated by the British army, his

Lordship expects that the Jammu troops will, with heart and soul, pursue, attack, and to their utmost ability destroy them in the hill country, not only on the border, but whithersoever they may fly. To do so is required by the treaty : to fail is a breach of it. The Governor-General observes that your Highness's interests will be materially affected by the manner this duty is performed. His Lordship does not question your fidelity or goodwill, but requires to see its fruits.

On the annexation of the Punjab, there were many besides Sir Charles Napier who predicted that Gulab Sing would not remain neutral in the event of a further rising. Lord Dalhousie consistently thought otherwise, and in order that no further uncertainty should remain as to the relations between the Maharaja and the British Government, it was arranged that a personal interview should be held at Wazirabad. A large deputation, mounted on ten elephants, was sent to escort His Highness to his camp, and on Thursday the 26th of December, 1850, at 3 P.M., Gulab Sing passed through a line of six thousand British soldiers to the Governor-General's tent, where he was received by Sir Henry Lawrence and presented to Lord Dalhousie. After the usual presents had been offered, an assurance of the friendship and goodwill of the British Government was conveyed to the Maharaja through Sir Henry Elliot. The genial warmth of manner with which His Highness was now received was in marked contrast to the icy warning addressed to him in 1849, and under its influence Gulab Sing expanded into cordiality. He replied to the assurances given him that he held fast by the skirts of the British Government, and under them felt that he was in security. He went on to beg that Lord Dalhousie would visit Kashmir, which he called the Governor-General's house, and in his satisfaction could not resist the temptation of saying to Elliot that

the Governor-General was a young man. All other Governor-Generals he had seen were grey-bearded. On being told of this remark, Lord Dalhousie replied that he congratulated himself on his youth, as he had the more years before him to give to the service of his Sovereign if she should demand them. It was late before the Maharaja returned to his camp, and the wildest rumours had preceded him. It was feared that he had been made prisoner, and two incidents gave colour to this report. When the cavalry escorting His Highness arrived at the Governor-General's camp, they formed up across the street of canvas, and so shut out the view of the crowd. The bazaar took up the false alarm, and the long duration of the interview lent weight to it. Then a fresh cause of anxiety occurred. Lady Dalhousie wished to see the proceedings, and to make this possible, Elliot had to clear an avenue through the people. On this the word went round that a piece of cannon was planted at the end of the space thus cleared, and that troops were in readiness to advance upon the Maharaja. These alarms, which His Highness shared, gave way to a redoubled pleasure and sense of relief when he found himself safely back in his camp. Henceforth his satisfaction was complete, and when on the morrow, seated upon an elephant in a splendid howdah of silver with the arms of the Company embossed on its sides—two figures of Justice and Peace supporting the imperial Crown—the Governor-General paid his return visit, His Highness dismissed his fears and his reserve and told Lord Dalhousie "that he was now completely happy; that the Sikhs had pressed him very hard to join them during the last war, but that he had stood firm, and he was thankful now to think that he had held by his friends the British. All, he said, that he now had to

wish for was that I would summon him, and all his troops, and that he might be at my side while we forced the Khaibar Pass." The interview put an end to all misunderstanding. When the Maharaja caught hold of Lord Dalhousie's dress in public and cried aloud, "thus I grasp the skirts of the British Government, and I will never let go my hold,"—he spoke with a sincere and grateful heart, and he kept his word not merely in acting up to his loyal professions, but also in rendering help to the Governor-General in his endeavours to repress the cruel practice of infanticide. To the end of his life Lord Dalhousie regarded the new understanding at which he had arrived with Gulab Sing as a matter of the highest importance.

The two darbars held for the reception of frontier chiefs, the one at Mari, near Kalabagh, on the 15th of February, 1851, and the other at Peshawar on the 15th of the following month, were of less magnificence, but hardly of less importance. To the former came the chiefs collected from the country between the Jhelum and the Indus, and Edwardes's fire-eaters from Bannu. The most prominent characters present were Fateh Sher Khan Towana, son of the "man of blood," whose dagger John Lawrence had drawn from its sheath; the chief of Sheikdara, with six bullets in him, "in evidence of the warmth of border feuds"; an old Pathan chief whose son had fallen at Multan; and an Afghan who was reputed to be a descendant of Ahmad Shah Abdali. At Peshawar there was a larger assemblage. Two notable supporters of Herbert at Attock, a grandson of the Shah of Persia, and a former prime minister of Shah Shuja were present. The chiefs of the Khataks, the Mohmands, and other tribes were represented, together with a contingent of

Hazara nobles brought by Abbott, and others from Rawal Pindi. Mounstuart Elphinstone's Munshi, an old man who had accompanied him to Kabul, also attended, together with Rahmat Khan, the Orakzai chief in charge of the Kohat Pass. These two darbars furnished matter for discussion along the border, and, in view of the remark which the Maharaja of Kashmir had made, caused the Amir and his court no little alarm. But Lord Dalhousie had no ambitions for a forward move. Reviewing the past history of Peshawar, "the advanced"—from *peshawardan*, the Persian verb "to advance"—he wrote :—

Eight centuries and a half have rolled away, and again Peshawar has become the frontier of the Indian Empire. When the tide of Mahomedan conquest swelled towards the East, its first wave broke against the foundations of Hindu power at Peshawar, "the advanced." And now, when in the lapse of ages the mighty current has changed, we have just seen the latest wave of Christian conquest towards the West break against the mountains hard by Peshawar. I trust that we ourselves shall be firm in saying to this tide of conquest—thus far shalt thou go, and no farther.

From Peshawar rapid marches were made in the direction of Simla, and, as previously stated in the short sketch given above of the country traversed, Lady Dalhousie left the camp on the 18th of April, and the Governor-General rejoined her at Simla on the 12th of May. There he remained until the close of the rainy season enabled him to complete his programme of darbars, and the call of duty summoned him to Calcutta before the close of the year 1851. While he remained on the Hill he received newspapers from home and from Calcutta, bringing the furious attacks which every high authority in India expects after the

first few years of office. For a year or two the full force of criticism seems lulled, but as a Governor-General reaches the middle of his Indian career, it flows with the rush of a monsoon. In London there was little of public interest, save the Exhibition of 1851, to divert attention. Napier and his friends thus secured a favourable season for advertising the wrongs done to the brave but quarrelsome soldier. It also filled up the intervals in a dull session of Parliament to attack the Governor-General for visiting the distant parts of his dominion. Accordingly Mr. Anstey raised a debate on a motion for sending a Royal Commission to India to inquire into the condition of the country. Lord John Russell replied, and was followed by Joseph Hume, who attacked the Governor-General for his prolonged absence from his Council in Calcutta, now that there were no longer hostilities to excuse his separation from his colleagues. Hogg defended his friend, and the latter's comments upon this defence, as given in a letter dated the 17th of May, 1851, may be quoted :—

You might have safely gone further ; for I can tell you I have no holiday in the Hills from anything but the heat. When Joseph says I went to Chini with 11,000 coolies, Joseph lies more than usual. The enclosed note (from Edwardes) shows you that I never had more than 700, and those only for fixed stages, and every man paid his full wages. If he means that 11,000 are required to carry the offices and establishments to the plains, he is nearly right. But the same informant who told him this might have told him that the system exists under treaty since 1815, and that it has been in force since Simla was founded. He might further have added that during the first season I came to the Hills my attention was given to the means of getting rid of the system, and that during last year I authorised the formation of a new route practicable for animals, expressly for the purpose of abolish-

ing the custom, and that the road is now in progress, and I hope will be finished next summer.

From another quarter attack was directed upon Lord Dalhousie. An Indian correspondent charged him in the columns of the *Times* with favouritism in patronage, with a love of display at the expense of the Company, making special reference to his gorgeous howdah of silver-work, and with meanness in his own personal expenditure on entertainments. To these charges he gave no reply in the press, but writing to Mr. Fox Maule on the 17th of September, 1851, he said :—

The passage to which you allude contains not one but a tissue of very gross and very malignant misrepresentations. With regard to the one you specially name, the appointment of an officer to the brigade in the Nizam's service, even the facts are falsified. I appointed no young officer from my staff. The person whom I appointed was Major Mayne; he is an officer of fourteen years' standing; he was not on my staff except as an "Honorary A.D.C. to the Governor-General," the list of whom comprises the most distinguished officers in the army. He was not appointed Honorary A.D.C. by me, but by either Lord Ellenborough or by Lord Hardinge, who also appointed him commandant of the Governor-General's Bodyguard. He was one of the most conspicuous officers in the army, was one of the "illustrious garrison" at Jalalabad, commanded the cavalry there, and highly distinguished himself. He is one of the best cavalry officers in India, and for his services was named by me to the command of the cavalry of the Nizam's army.

Then followed his defence against charges of meanness, into which it is unnecessary to enter, for the only particle of truth in them lay in the scene of his entertainments. He preferred to gather round him the hard-working officials and regimental officers and their families in the cities and garrisons of the Punjab, to

asking once, twice, and thrice again the same round of official magnates in Calcutta. For Simla society he had no liking, and he mentions in several of his letters that it was in those days regarded as the grave of the reputation of many women, and as the scene of much gambling and quarrelling amongst the younger members of the military services.

From such inevitable pricks of public life we may return to the completion of Lord Dalhousie's programme of darbars, which had been interrupted by the fall of the annual rains. There still remained the petty Hill Chiefs, and the more important rulers of the Punjab whom the Governor-General intended to receive before he returned to his own presidency. It was an essential part of Lord Dalhousie's system to divide his distinguished visitors into groups to be welcomed in a succession of assemblies. This plan did not save trouble, nor was that its object; but it vastly increased the pleasures and the honour conferred upon the nobles. Much of the value of a darbar is lost in the modern practice of hurrying through India as fast as steam can carry one, massing together receptions, and cutting short personal interviews. Lord Dalhousie regarded the courtesies and ceremonies of his high office as demanding his personal attention to details and the utmost consideration. He remarked that if a number of chiefs were received together, those of inferior rank felt the difference of treatment accorded to them, and it was difficult to single out the deserving for special notice without causing heart-burnings.

Accordingly, he invited the Hill Chiefs—of whom the more important were the Rajas of Nahan or Sirmur, of Bashahr, Sukhet, and Balsan—to a reception at Simla on the 20th of October, 1851. The majority of

the Hill States owed their preservation to the British treaty with Nepal in 1815, under which Kumaon and Dehra Dun had been annexed, whilst the rest of the country from the Gogra to the Satlaj was left in the hands of the petty chieftains under the Company's protection. The Governor-General delighted these "barons" by telling them that he too was a *pahari*, or highlander. It is pleasant to recall to mind the loyalty of these Rajas and Thakurs in subsequent days, and to credit Lord Dalhousie with no small share in that result. The troops of Nahan were employed in the Afghan war of 1878, at the earnest request of the chief; while Kahlur, Balsan, and others rendered signal services in the Mutiny. Bashahr, who "fired off, 'Very well, thank you, my Lord,'" at the bidding of his tutor, is still alive as these words are written, though his State is administered by his son.

The darbar which finally closed the ceremonial duties of 1851, and upon which the Governor-General lavished the greatest pains and expense, was that held on the 28th of October, 1851, at Pinjore, for the reception of the Maharaja of Patiala and the sovereign chiefs ruling on this side the Satlaj. After the first Sikh war British protection was granted to nine States, including Patiala, Jind, Nabha, Faridkot, Maler Kotla, and Mamdot. Of the nine, two small States, Dialgarh and Raikot, lapsed, while that of Mamdot was in 1856 reduced to the position of a Jaghir. The rest have continued to justify the confidence reposed in them, and their sovereign rights have been faithfully preserved. Jind was the first Sikh prince to march against the Delhi insurgents; Patiala sent his forces to keep open the communication along the grand trunk road which Lord Dalhousie's forethought had constructed. The Jat

ruler of Faridkot and the Mahomedan Nawab of Maler Kotla, whose ancestor had joined Lord Lake, maintained the loyal traditions of their families. Nabha's efficient assistance was rewarded by an addition to his territories out of Jhajjar. Such were the services rendered by the princes for whose fidelity in the second Sikh war Lord Dalhousie convened his great darbar. Together with Sir Henry Lawrence, as representative of British rule in the Punjab, Sir William Gomm and numerous officers, civil and military, were present. The Governor-General sat on the golden chair of Ranjit Sing's State occasions, now used for the last time before being despatched to England as a trophy of war. A strong military force was collected to add effect to the proceedings, which were held near the gardens of Pinjore, in the midst of the grandest of scenery. It is hardly necessary to describe the darbar, but one or two incidents in it illustrate the character of the chief actors in it. Among the presents brought for the Maharaja of Patiala was a large engraving of the arrival in Calcutta of the guns captured from the Sikhs in 1846. Lord Dalhousie questioned the good taste of choosing this gift, and only allowed it to pass with the rest of the offerings after he had been assured that the Maharaja would value it. When the darbar was over, Edwardes paid a visit to the Patiala camp, and His Highness pointed out the picture with pride. Putting his finger on one of the guns, he told Edwardes that it had been captured by Ranjit Sing early in his career from the Patiala family, and he cordially welcomed its "restoration to his State" by the British Government. One remark addressed to the Raja of Jind, a man of enormous stature whom Sir William Gomm called Porus himself, marks the lighter features of the con-

versation. In bidding his guest good-bye the Governor-General said that he had always been glad of the friendship of the Raja, but now that he had seen him he was doubly rejoiced to find that he was a friend and not a foe. Then followed the return visits, and on the whole the Pinjore darbar was the finest spectacle that Lord Dalhousie witnessed in India. The Maharaja of Patiala, it should be mentioned, entertained at his own expense all the chiefs and their followers at a cost of three lacs of rupees. Every one departed in good humour; and the Governor-General then returned to Simla to prepare for his journey to Calcutta.

Lord Dalhousie had finished his self-appointed task. He had traversed the length and breadth of the Punjab, and had studied the features of the country, its resources, and its wants. As far as his authority extended, every question of administration or policy had now been discussed by him with the Board and finally settled. He had made the personal acquaintance of all officers, civil and military, holding a responsible position in the province, and in his diary had stored up for future use a gallery of portraits and character-sketches. He had shown himself in private life as well as in state to the cities and cantonments, and made himself accessible to the chiefs and nobles of the land. He had rewarded the loyal, strengthened the wavering, and removed suspicion and mistrust from those whose consciences were not clear. He had left confidence behind him. He carried away with him something more than goodwill, for his courtesies had made him many friends. One proof of the regard which his consideration for Native feeling had earned for him may be given before this chapter is closed. Jewan Sing was

a loyal and influential Sikh officer who commanded the Sher Dil Regiment at Amritsar, and to whom the Governor-General had shown attention on his visit to the sacred city. One day a half-drunken European soldier, named Rosney, cut down Jewan Sing in one of the gateways of the place. His followers rallied round him, and as he lay dying the gallant Sikh begged them not to hurt his assailant, who "had but accomplished the will of God." The greatest excitement followed the death of their beloved commandant; and as soon as Lord Dalhousie heard the news he ordered the trial of Rosney, and sent to the family of Jewan Sing an expression of his own deep sympathy and regret. His message acted as oil upon the waters, and the public confidence that the Governor-General himself, who was known to every one in Amritsar, would see that justice was done, prevented disorder. Rosney was tried and sentenced to death, and this unfortunate occurrence was not without its lesson of peace and justice.

CHAPTER XI

RETURN TO CALCUTTA

The Governor-General returns to Calcutta—The dispute with Sikkim—The pretensions of the President in Council negatived by the Court—Sir William Gomm, his character—Death of Bethune—Lord Dalhousie loses the services of Sir H. Elliot and others—Death of Peel, and later on of the Duke of Wellington—Fox Maule succeeds Lord Broughton at the Board of Control—Fall of Lord John Russell's Ministry; Lord Derby Premier—Mr. Herries appointed to the Board of Control—Lord Derby gives place to Lord Aberdeen, and Mr. Herries to Sir Charles Wood—Troubles on the north-western frontier—The line of that frontier at the time—Character of the Pathans and of the Baluchis—The treatment of the tribesmen under former Governments—Impossibility of adopting the old policy—The *Times* suggests a policy of inactivity—Lord Dalhousie's policy towards the tribesmen—Carne's murder by Hassanzais, and the result—Punitive expedition against the Mohmands and various other tribes—The pleasures of Lord Dalhousie's tour after leaving Simla—His encouragement of industrial projects—And of education—His conversation with the Maharaja Dhulip Sing on the subject of embracing the Christian religion—Reaches Allahabad and Benares—News from Burma hastens his steps to Calcutta—Arrives in Calcutta on the 29th of January, 1852,—Lady Dalhousie and James Ramsay go to Ceylon—Offer of an extension of office, and conditional acceptance of it by Lord Dalhousie.

LEAVING Lord Dalhousie in the midst of his preparations 1851-1852, for the march to Bengal, we may now take a general survey of certain events and changes which had altered the conditions under which he was about to resume the

direction of affairs at the seat of the Indian Government, and then proceed to examine the nature of various military operations in which his administration was involved upon the frontiers of the Punjab. With the ground thus cleared, the reader will be able to follow without interruption the measures taken by the Governor-General in the dispute with the Court of Ava, to which the next two chapters will be devoted.

Reference has already been made to disputes in the Council as to the powers vested in it, and on the return of the Governor-General to Calcutta a despatch was received from the authorities in England which finally disposed of the claims advanced by the President of that body. Yet as an account of the controversy not only throws light upon an important constitutional question, but also illustrates by contrast the firmness of Lord Dalhousie's character and the want of determination shown by the Council, it will be well to state the facts which led up to the decision pronounced by the Court of Directors. The State of Sikkim, or "new palace," as the name implies, was a Native State lying between Bengal and Tibet, and marching with Nepal on the west. It owed much to the British, who had rescued it from constant encroachments and raids by its Ghurkha neighbours, and had conferred upon it fresh territories after the war with Nepal. In 1835 the British acquired a perpetual lease of Darjiling, making in return an annual payment to the Raja. But that chief's minister finding that our occupation of this hill station interfered with slavery and with his monopolies of trade, vainly endeavoured to come to an agreement with Dr. Campbell, superintendent of Darjiling, for a mutual exchange of slaves. Later on, in 1849, it happened that Dr. Hooker, in company with Dr. Campbell, was, with the

permission of the Raja, making a tour in Sikkim for scientific purposes, when they were seized by the Raja's officials, and efforts were made to extort from them compliance with the wishes of the minister. The release of the British officers was at once demanded, and their captors were informed that any concessions which might be granted by Dr. Campbell while under duress would be repudiated by the Government. As, however, it was not until a small military force had been despatched to the frontier that the minister released his captives, the Raja was called upon to present himself at Darjiling, and to bring in the parties who had committed the outrage. On further consideration of the matter, and after reference to the Governor-General, the first demand was withdrawn as involving an act of humiliation to which the Raja would probably demur, and the surrender of the guilty officials was alone insisted upon. Whether or not this abatement of terms gave new courage to the Raja, he now proved altogether contumacious. Troops were therefore sent to occupy certain districts of his territory, and the annual payment on account of Darjiling was withheld. So far the Council had acted in the main upon their own responsibility; and although Lord Dalhousie was of opinion that they had betrayed weakness of purpose, he was not disposed to criticise the action taken while he was absent from the seat of Government on his first tour round India. But on the 4th of May, 1850, the President in Council addressed the Governor-General on the subject of a final settlement, recommending the annual payment to the Raja of Rs.12,000, on the ground that he had suffered heavy losses from the occupation of the districts and from the withdrawal of the grant for Darjiling. Upon this Lord Dalhousie felt bound to say that the proposal of the

President "would place the Government of India in a very humiliating position in reference to this hill savage, and would tend to bring the power of this Government into contempt with other savages." He therefore insisted that the Raja should be sternly called upon to comply with the demands of the Government he had insulted, and to give up "the authors and actors in the outrage." The Council were nettled by these strong words, and once more urged "the extension of the mercy and bounty of the Government." But Lord Dalhousie was firm, and the Secret Committee were informed, on the 12th of August, 1850, that he considered the grant proposed to be neither expedient nor necessary. On their part, Sir John Littler, Sir James Currie, and Mr. Lowis sent home by the same post copies of their correspondence with the Governor-General, together with a letter in which they sought to justify their proposals.

On the 5th of October, in answer to these representations, the Commissioners for the affairs of India communicated to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors a despatch for transmission to the Governor-General, in which they rebuked the President in Council for prolonging a controversy "productive of no benefit to the public service," and, in concurrence with Lord Dalhousie, expressed the view that "the late occurrences in Sikkim had not been judiciously dealt with." Refusing to bow to these strictures, the President and his Council now raised the larger question of their own powers, claiming coequal and co-ordinate authority with the Governor-General during his absence from the Council in respect of the powers reserved to him, and an exclusive and complete authority in respect of all powers expressly left to themselves. Thereupon the Secret

Committee issued two despatches unhesitatingly rejecting such doctrine; stated that they were at a loss to conceive on what grounds the President in Council could have advanced pretensions at variance with the letter and the spirit of the law; and reminded their protestants that the discussion had already been definitely and beyond revival set at rest in connection with Sikkim affairs. The latter of these despatches, dated the 24th of December, 1851, was that which greeted Lord Dalhousie's resumption of his place in Council, and though he found his colleagues somewhat disconcerted by the rebuke, he took no advantage of his triumph, but was careful to consult with them frequently upon all important matters of State. They with like good feeling met the Governor-General in a conciliatory mood, and public business was not obstructed by any further disputes.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir William Gomm, though not attending at the Council Board, showed every desire to meet the views of Lord Dalhousie. He was described by his Quartermaster-General as "a good bit body, quite content to sit inside the coach, and let another drive it." A higher authority, Sir James Hogg, in writing to the Governor-General on the 7th of December, 1850, had given his opinion that Gomm was a gentleman, "but he ought not to have been selected for such a command at the age of seventy, and with no recent military experience." Lord Dalhousie "found him during the year in which he has served with me the same good, kind, well-bred gentleman I expected to see. His desire to co-operate with the Government and to be friendly with myself is great and sincere." At the same time the Governor-General could not ignore the difficulties arising from his advanced years, though he excused the appointment

recommended by his friend the Duke by the reflection that his Grace thought all men younger than himself fit for work, and contented himself with hoping that no occasion might arise for employing a large army in the field. When another septuagenarian, Admiral Austen, called upon him, he could not conceal his impatience at having to rely so much upon colleagues past their work, describing his visitor as "very old, like every other naval and military man sent to command nowadays. He is upwards of seventy-three, and he told me that General Godwin had admitted himself to be seventy." And though both of these veterans won his admiration by the vigour of their proceedings when their services came to be tested, the Governor-General, their junior by more than thirty years, was destined to bear the weight of the empire without any material assistance from his colleagues.

To add to the difficulties which at this time he had to face, death had removed from his side one whom he could ill spare, and disease was about to claim greater sacrifices in the cases of Elliot and Halliday. In August, 1851, J. E. Drinkwater Bethune had died after a short and painful illness. He was, as Lord Dalhousie described him, "an able, honest, and zealous servant of the public, an earnest promoter of all good, kind to all, generous in the extreme, a good friend, and an enemy, I believe, to none." His one anxiety on his death-bed was for the welfare of the school for Indian women which he had established in Calcutta, and which still bears his name. At his death Lord Dalhousie¹ undertook, upon his own and his wife's account, to be answerable for the main-

¹ From a letter written by Cecil Beadon, dated the 26th of February, 1856, I find that Lord Dalhousie, whom his critics charged with undue parsimony, spent 34,579 rupees on the fulfilment of the generous obligation.

tenance of the institution, so long as he remained in India, and its permanence was ultimately secured as a memorial to its founder. Bethune's place in the legislative department was filled for the moment by Charles R. Jackson, pending the arrival of Barnes Peacock, afterwards Chief-Justice of Bengal, "a first-rate lawyer," as Hogg described him.

The loss of Sir Henry Elliot, who left India in February, 1852, and died two years later, was a still more serious blow to the Governor-General, who described his feelings in these terms :—

I have always felt great confidence in the knowledge that Elliot was behind me, and that his administrative experience would detect, and his judgment would pause upon and question, anything that fell from my pen, the accuracy of which as a fact, or the soundness of which as an opinion, was not quite apparent and certain. He has given me for four years most valuable aid. I can ill afford to lose him at such a time. The war with Burma is commencing. The Charter discussions are commencing. The Nizam's affairs have to be put upon a proper footing; the affairs of Oudh are on the point, apparently, of breaking down. For me to lose Elliot at this moment, who knows so well my modes of thinking and of acting, is grievous indeed.

Upon the top of this loss fell another. After twenty-seven years of continuous residence in India, F. J. Halliday suddenly fell ill in June, and J. P. Grant succeeded him. One other change in the personal surroundings of Lord Dalhousie deserves mention here as showing his warm attachment, not only to those whose valuable services he so readily acknowledged, but to the junior members of his own staff, and further, as throwing light upon his appreciation of character. In the middle of the year, 1851, "Frank Fane," his aide-de-camp, to whom he refers as "my dear boy," became heir to the title of the Earl of Westmorland.

I counselled his return to England, though it was a sad loss to me. Fane had become one of ourselves. He was a thorough gentleman in manners, mind, and feelings; the most good-humoured, cheerful, kind companion; of great use to me, obliging to us all, and a favourite with everybody. I can never replace him thoroughly, though his successor is a pleasant fellow and a good lad.

The reasons which led him to choose Sir Edward Campbell, formerly on the staff of Sir Charles Napier, as Fane's successor, are equally to the credit of both parties.

It came to my knowledge that he was in the habit of stinting himself in every way of indulgences, in order to send home money to his mother, who was left in poverty by his father's death. The trait was so honourable to him, that it strengthened the inclination I felt to attach him to my staff when Sir Charles Napier went away.

If the Marquis of Dalhousie had been the "proud, imperious" Governor-General that his critics have called him, his "sterner stuff" would not have given way to the warm human emotions which led him thus to care for the welfare and to reciprocate the affection of the junior members of his staff. These various losses were but the forerunners of greater trials. For a few months later an attack of cholera made it advisable that his cousin and military secretary, James Ramsay, should proceed to Ceylon; and, to crown all, ill-health compelled Lady Dalhousie to leave India.

But before that misfortune is described we must take notice of other gaps which death had caused in the circle of his patrons or friends at home, and observe the changes in his masters which the course of public affairs in England brought about in the year 1852. The death of Peel on the 2nd of July, 1850, from the effects of being thrown from his horse, had removed

his first patron; and according to one of Lord Dalhousie's biographers, his "beloved chief's" sudden end called forth poignant grief, "his stern composure melting into tears at the news." On what authority this statement rests I am unable to say. For though Sir Robert's high qualities were fitly appreciated by his colleague, the diary in which his feelings at the time are recorded bears no trace of this scene of distress.

"Sir Robert Peel," the entry runs, "was no very intimate personal friend of mine. . . . He had faults like every other mortal, and they led him occasionally into acts which I condemned at the time, and which I blame still. But I ever recognised and revered the purity of his motives. . . . If peril came, our real sword and shield were in Peel; and they are broken to pieces."

Later on in the year Lord Dalhousie had to chronicle a heavier loss, and to his journal he confides the

deep, deep sorrow with which I learnt the news of my noble old master, the Duke of Wellington. . . . Sound and hale to the last, he woke uneasily on the 14th of September, bade Kendall send for the doctor (a mortal sign in his case), dropped into unconsciousness; and after a short time died so gently that no one could say when the spirit parted. Now has there fallen a tower indeed, and East and West have felt the shock alike. I had pleased myself with the hope that I should still have been welcomed by him on my return home. All that has gone by. And after the first grief is over, I think we shall feel a sort of joy that he has gone from us while his glory was still full, and while his powers, though mellowed, had still felt no sensible decay. I have had the satisfaction (a sad one) of offering to his memory every honour which this empire and its armies can bestow. For three days the flag in Fort William was hoisted half-mast high, a mark of respect which was also shown by all the shipping in the river. Eighty-three minute-guns were fired, and the same was ordered at every station of the army in India. Mourning was directed, and a fitting expression of the sentiment of the Government of India was recorded immediately upon the minutes of the

Council. Many an age will pass before the world will look upon his like again. The friendship and confidence with which he regarded me for many years, though it was a little broken in upon just before I left England, are among the proudest recollections of my life. They will ever be so. I shall never cease to look after him with gratitude, veneration, and love, until the time comes that I shall follow him.

In the death of Lord Melville, Lord Privy Seal in Scotland and Governor of the Bank of Scotland, which occurred in 1851, Lord Dalhousie lost "an old friend, a worthy, kind man, and a public servant whose place will not be easily filled in the country where he lived." His uncle, Lord Panmure, was a further addition to the death-roll of 1852, but matters into which we need not enter took from the force of the blow, and indeed the death of the old man had long been expected by his relatives.

In his home circle, therefore, and in public life the conditions under which the Governor-General carried on his duties in 1852 were profoundly altered. It has already been mentioned that the Exhibition helped to "kill time" in 1851 and delayed the fall of the Government. But the end of the Russell Ministry was not far off, and the enforced resignation of Lord Palmerston further shook the tottering fabric. Writing on the 24th of January, 1852, Hogg informed his friend that "Broughton has not attended the last three or four Cabinet Councils, and in fact left town for his country seat the very day of the Council"; while his next letter brought the news of that nobleman's retirement and of the appointment of Fox Maule to succeed him at the Board of Control. In the few letters which passed between the Governor-General and his new chief, the latter left upon the former an impression that his cousin

would be absolutely just, but that he meant "to think and act for himself." Fox Maule was not long to hold that position, for in consequence of Palmerston's motion on the Militia Bill, the Ministry resigned, and Lord Derby came into office. The new President of the Board was Mr. Herries, who had been Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1827, a man of experience and courteous disposition, but advanced in years. He at once entered into cordial relations with Lord Dalhousie, and Lord Derby's Government sent out to the Governor-General a despatch which fully approved of his proceedings in Burma. But Mr. Herries's tenure of office barely survived the dissolution of Parliament a few months later, for at its reassembling Lord Derby gave place to Lord Aberdeen, Sir Charles Wood being appointed to the Board of Control. Amid these bewildering changes it was fortunate for his country that in 1852 Sir James Hogg was for a second time elected Chairman of the East India Company. For it was largely through his friendly influence that an extension of office was pressed upon the Marquis of Dalhousie and accepted by him, thereby giving to India a continuance of his invaluable services during the important events of the Burmese War and the discussion of the new Charter.

Having thus passed in review the circumstances in which the Governor-General was placed in 1852 by the loss of trusted subordinates in India, and by the current of political events at home, we must now turn to the protective measures which our position on the north-western frontier of India now so urgently called for. This subject had given anxiety to Lord Dalhousie through the year which had just closed, and while he was on his march to Calcutta various operations were

in progress on the borders of Peshawar. The policy which he decided to follow was assailed in the columns of the *Times*. But before we can appreciate the merits of this attack or understand the defence of the Government of India, it will be advisable to take a rapid survey of the frontier, and to note the character of the tribesmen whom the annexation of the Punjab brought into daily relations with British officers.

From the Khagan glen, a dependency of Hazara, the line of frontier at this period passed round the hilly district of Hazara to Torbela; then crossing the Indus, it made a sweep round the northern and north-western portion of the Peshawar valley to the Khaibar Pass. Up to this point the chief tribes beyond the frontier were the Kohistanis, the Black Mountain tribes, the Yusufzai and Gadun tribes, Swatis, Utmankhels, Mohmands, and Afridis. From the Khaibar the boundary skirted the Afridi hills and followed the hilly tracts on the north-western boundary of the Kohat district along the Miranzai country to Thal, bringing the Orakzai, Zaimukht, Turi, and Bangash tribesmen into our neighbourhood. From Thal the line trended eastwards, skirting the Waziri hills along the borders of the Bannu and the Dera Ismail Khan districts which lay below open to the attacks of the Darwesh Khel and the Mahsud Waziri clans. Besides the Waziris, the tribesmen of the Dawaris, Shiranis, and Usteranis looked upon the Indian districts of Bannu and Dera Ismail Khan as their lawful hunting-grounds. As the next district of Dera Ghazi Khan was reached, the Kasrani tribe marked the dividing line between the Pathans and the Baluchis, while beyond them again came the Bozdars, Kosas, Gurchanis, Mazaris, and Bugtis, the small town of Kashmor in Sind marking the terminus of the Punjab

frontier, at about 700 miles from the top of the Khagan glen from which we started.

Between the Pathan and the Baluchi tribesmen there is an essential difference, which time and experience have allowed the successors of Lord Dalhousie to turn to account. It will be shown hereafter¹ that the Governor-General, in concluding the treaty of the 14th of May, 1854, with the Khan of Kelat, grasped this important fact, and laid the foundation of those measures which have rendered the Baluchis reasonable neighbours of a civilised government. This tribe has always recognised an aristocratic organisation, obeying their tribal chiefs or Tumandars, paying but scant attention to their priests or to the strict doctrines of the Mahomedan faith professed by them, and proving less fanatical and treacherous than their northern neighbours. The Pathans, on the other hand, are animated by a democratic spirit which claims for every man equality in the sight of God, breathes intolerance of control even so far as to ignore their Jirgah or council of headmen when individuals choose to act for themselves, and yet leaves them a priest-ridden race, sworn enemies to civilisation. Their character was thus described by Mr.—afterwards Sir Richard—Temple in an official report of 1855 :—

These tribes are savages—noble savages perhaps—and not without some tincture of virtue and generosity, but still absolutely barbarians. They have nothing approaching to government or civil institutions. In their eyes the one great commandment is blood for blood, and fire and sword for all people not Mahomedans. They are superstitious and priest-ridden. But the priests are as ignorant as they are bigoted, and use their influence simply for preaching crusades against unbelievers, and inculcate the doctrine of rapine and bloodshed against the defenceless people of the plains. The hillmen are very avaricious; for gold they will almost

¹ See vol. ii. chap. iii. p. 102.

do everything except betray a guest. They are thievish and predatory to the last degree. They are utterly faithless to public engagements. They are fierce and bloodthirsty.

Such was the character of the borderland, and of the inhabitants into contact with whom the rising tide of British dominion had brought the Company's officers, successors by no free will to an inheritance of anarchy and mismanagement. From time immemorial the tribes had alternately been treated with cruelty and shunned with fear. To the Afridis blackmail had been paid alike by Ghengiz Khan, Timur, Babar, Nadir Shah, Ahmed Shah, the Barakzai governors, and the Sikhs; and when they or other tribes brought fire and sword into the plains, the villagers had been left to their mercy. All along the Mari and Bugti hill-skirts, all along the paths traversed by the Shiranis near Draband, the solitude of a desert marked what had once been cultivated fields and populous villages, for retributive expeditions into the highlands were never thought of by the rulers of the Punjab. If the forts erected along the border failed to keep the invaders out, the people retaliated as best they could; grants of land were here and there given on the sole tenure that the proprietor should bring in as tribute a certain number of heads of the tribesmen; where it was possible to do so, one tribe was set against another; and General Avitabile even made use of the trans-frontier tribesmen to plunder some of his own mutinous soldiery. In self-defence the population organised itself into parties for watch and counter-raid, or else left the country at the foot of the hills bare and uncultivated.

It was obviously impossible for the British Government to employ the methods which recommended themselves to Native rule, it was equally impossible to

shirk the responsibility of protecting its subjects. That responsibility was quickly put to the test, for in some districts the raided tenants were impatient to return to the fields they had abandoned, and hopefully assured themselves of efficient protection at the hands of their new masters. So complete was their trust, that in 1852 Major Reynell Taylor warned the Board not to expect from the people themselves even those measures which they had taken in their own defence during the rule of their former masters, the Sikhs. "Where we assume control and place our troops, we must be prepared, if not content, to play the whole game ourselves, and must not expect the village communities to protect themselves as of yore." Moreover, while behind the shield of British power these villagers became less inclined to be their own avengers, their increased prosperity offered greater temptation than ever to the greed of their savage neighbours. On the other hand, if elsewhere the inhabitants, provoked beyond all patience, turned upon their despoilers, retaliation after their inborn manner was a process at which the British Government could not connive. On each such occasion—and the occasions were not infrequent—official propriety demanded that an inquiry should be held, with the result of course of discouraging the adoption of the rough but not inefficient means by which society had to some extent formerly protected itself. There was thus no escape from the obligations of a civilised government: willing or unwilling, we were driven to adopt our own and different methods of frontier defence.

With the problem thus stating itself Lord Dalhousie had now to deal. Difficult enough, it was not made the easier by contemporary criticism. On the 3rd of February, 1852, the *Times* in a leading article charged

the Government of India with an insatiable desire for conquest. It was "at blows with the swarming tribes about the Khaibar Pass," and, upon pleas of provocation, was punishing Afridis, Mohmands, and other tribes, forgetting that every step forward only brought itself into greater trouble. "It seems impossible that anything can be gained by such measures. If we pushed our posts to the very centre of Tartary, our neighbours would be robbers still, and why should we not make the best of matters on our boundaries, instead of going to fight the same game 500 miles off?" Mr. Fox Maule was called upon to remember what came of the Kabul campaign, and it was trusted that "Lord Broughton's experience may not be lost upon his successor." This attack drew from Lord Dalhousie a letter to Fox Maule, dated the 26th of March, 1852, in which he thus explained his position and his intentions :—

"I told the Government from the first that for many years to come they must expect perpetual forays and skirmishes on that frontier. These hills have been held by plunderers from centuries upon centuries. They regard the plains as their food and prey. This state of affairs cannot be remedied at once; and it ought not to be expected."

While, therefore, determined in his purpose, he did not intend to be impatient, or to hastily organise expeditions.

"In Mr. Carne's case you will see officially, I have rigidly resisted all proposals to march troops. It is not necessary, and it shall not be done."

It would be a wearisome task to give even a brief account of the numerous outrages which the barbarians across the frontier committed in the term of Lord Dalhousie's office. To cope with these the general character of the policy pursued was both retributive

and preventive. Establishing at carefully selected points a series of fortified posts, and doing all that was possible to check the frequency of raids, the Governor-General at the same time neglected no means or effort to win over the tribes by offering to them peaceful pursuits. Where kindly measures failed, he sought to inspire awe by striking at them sharply with the police and the military forces on the frontier. Forbearance was to be carried as far as safety would allow, but when the conduct of a tribe became intolerable, recourse was had to fines, blockades, and punitive expeditions, that forbearance should not be interpreted as fear.

“Carne’s case,” to which reference is made in the letter just quoted, gives a sample of the methods employed as occasion arose. Soon after the annexation, a line of barriers was stretched along the left bank of the Indus to check the importation of trans-Indus salt into the Punjab. In November, 1851, Mr. Carne, the head of the customs department, with his assistant Mr. Tapp, proceeded to visit a portion of the line beyond Torbela. While returning through the estate of the Khan of Amb, Jehandad Khan, these two officers were treacherously murdered by a party of Hassanzais, who had no other grievance against their victims than that they were infidels, and infidels out of whom some plunder might be made. But Mr. Carne had incurred a serious responsibility, for he had undertaken his tour in the teeth of the advice of Major Abbott; and in these circumstances the Governor-General contented himself with calling upon the Khan of Amb to punish the Hassanzais. In compliance with this demand, Jehandad Khan seized some of the offending tribesmen and delivered them over as hostages to the British. The tribesmen in their turn retaliated, and after taking

two forts, reduced the Khan to considerable straits. Lord Dalhousie was now compelled to reconsider the assurance he had given to Fox Maule. Compromise was out of the question, and the dispute had entered upon a new phase. A mixed force of 3800 men, made up of troops, police, and levies, was despatched in December, 1852, under Colonel Mackeson, C.B., Commissioner of Peshawar, "one of the ablest of your servants," as the Governor-General wrote of him to the Court of Directors; and Napier (afterwards Lord Napier of Magdala) commanded a column. The troops suffered severe hardships from cold, fatigue, and long fasting, but they destroyed several villages, and showed the inhabitants that the British arm could reach the distant and strongly guarded country of the Hassanzais. Having thus vindicated the cause of honour, and wishing it to be seen that under his rule forbearance went hand in hand with power, the Governor-General restored the hostages, and proclaimed to the Black Mountain tribes "that the British Government did not covet their possessions, nor those of other neighbouring tribes, with whom it desired to be at peace; but that it expected tribes would restrain individual members from committing unprovoked outrages on British subjects, and afford redress when they are committed." The doctrine of tribal responsibility was thus publicly declared.

On another part of the frontier the same policy was being pursued against the Mohmands, an exceptionally troublesome tribe through whose country ran the Kabul river. They had committed frequent raids on British villages, picked off our sentries on outpost duty, and even murdered some British subjects in the cantonments of Peshawar. On the 25th of October, 1851, Sir Colin Campbell undertook a long series of operations against

them, of which the main outcome was the completion of the Michni fort, the establishment of a post at Shabkadar, and the destruction of several Mohmand forts which covered their attacks upon British territory. But during the course of these operations Lieutenant Boulnois was murdered while peacefully riding out beyond the works at Michni, and it became clear that the leniency shown to the tribe had missed its mark. In April, 1852, accordingly, a more severe lesson had to be taught them at Panjpao, where 6000 of the tribesmen were defeated by 600 men under Sir Colin Campbell in a smart action in which Brigade-Major (now Sir Henry) Norman and Peter Lumsden distinguished themselves. Even these operations were insufficient, and in 1854 Colonel Cotton was sent with another punitive expedition against the Michni Mohmands.

One tribal affront was very similar to another, and it is sufficient to record here the bare statement of fact that between 1851 and 1856 ten tribes were punished in addition to those mentioned above. In the events which led to one of these operations, that against the Ranizais, British forbearance on the one side and the bad faith of the Swat tribesmen on the other were illustrated in more than ordinary contrast, and the punishment inflicted was consequently severe. So frequently and from so many quarters had provocation come, that from first to last British troops were forced to enter the countries of the Utmankhels, the Waziris, the Shiranis, the Hindustani fanatics, the Kasranis, various sections of the Afridis, and the Orakzais and Miranzais. Obviously, therefore, the easy doctrine of the *Times* that we should "make the best of matters on our own boundaries" was an impracticable counsel, and where milder measures proved ineffective, military expeditions

became a last resource. Indeed in 1852 Lord Dalhousie went as far as to rebuke Sir Colin Campbell for his unwillingness to furnish troops, at Colonel Mackeson's request, against the Swat tribesmen, the General's refusal being based not on military grounds but on his own doubt as to the justice of the political considerations on which punitive operations were proposed. The Commander-in-Chief supported Campbell, while Mackeson was backed up by the Punjab Board. The Governor-General did not hesitate. He made it clear that neither Sir William Gomm nor Sir Colin Campbell had any concern with the political aspect of the case; and to prevent any further conflict of authority, definite powers were conferred on the Board of Administration to make requisitions for military assistance on the Commander-in-Chief, which his Excellency was told he was not competent to disregard except on purely military grounds. Public opinion has long since endorsed this principle of military responsibility, and further has detached itself from the doctrines proclaimed in those days by the *Times*. After the disappointments of half a century, in which the moral forces of civilisation, persuasion, and forbearance—aided by the construction of canals, the establishment of dispensaries, and the facilities offered for trade—have failed to teach the savage tribesmen better manners, the school of thought represented by the critics of 1902 condemns the policy of the 'fifties not because it was too aggressive, but because it was too submissive. To such the answer may be given that Lord Dalhousie had not the means for a more forward policy while as yet British rule had to be consolidated in the Punjab, and that it was beyond question right to exhaust all peaceful resources before the policy of forbearance should be abandoned.

We may now return to Simla, whence, having completed his preparations, Lord Dalhousie set out on the 4th of November, 1851, after a friendly parting with the Commander-in-Chief. He looked forward with eager interest to his march through the Hill States and the picturesque mountain dales of the Dehra Dun on his way to Hardwar. The notes of gladness vibrate through every page of his diary. It was to be a joy for ever, and his aide-de-camp, Campbell, made sketches of the scenery "which will be some of my pleasures of memory hereafter." The loved scenes of his early life were recalled by old forts, "every stone telling of fights, and feuds, and border wars," which set the Scotsman thinking of his ~~happy~~ tours with Mr. Temple in the Highlands, while even the contrasts carried his mind further back to Canada. "The absence of autumnal tints is a great drawback. Deciduous trees are not wanting; but they do not show so gaily among the pines and cedars as those which give to the forests in Canada so brilliant an aspect." The tempting pools yielded trout, "resembling our own burn trout in form and colour, but with brown speckles instead of the crimson spots. They do not catch them either with net or line. They select a pool on one side of the river, into which they hunt the trout by walking up the stream; and when they have closed the mouth of the pool with stones, they run them down in the pool and catch them with their hands." Every variety of scene had its own enchantment. Now the camp was pitched in "a grassy glade that opened in the midst of the thick, dark forest of oak which clothed the whole breast of the mountain, and covered it closely down to the terraced cultivation below." Then a noble amphitheatre of rock was presented to view, backed by a snow-clad range crimsoned

by the setting sun, or a long stretch of dense entanglement was traversed in which elephant creepers embraced the neighbouring trees in their fatal grasp. "This creeper does not, in accordance with its name and the habits of its tribe, creep up the tree which is to be its victim. It grows separately, a straggling tree of itself, and when it has reached the height of its neighbour's branches, it throws out its long tendrils in among them, and speedily envelops the whole in a twined mass of its own foliage." In the midst of these pleasures of nature the Marquis was one day attacked by his pony, which, although tethered by heel-ropes, viciously seized him by the breast and tore him rather severely. But a few days later he was well enough to ride forty miles at a stretch, in order that he might make up for lost time and get to the serious purpose of his journey.

Lord Dalhousie had in view more important objects than the indulgence of his love of scenery or the adventures to be met with in a pleasure tour. He still hoped that the Burmese storm would blow over, and leave him free to carry out his designs for developing the resources of India and introducing a comprehensive system of education. He desired, therefore, to confer with his experienced subordinates engaged in the practical furtherance of such industrial projects as he had in view, and to learn by close personal observation how matters stood. Accordingly he turned aside from his direct course and, accompanied by Dr. Jameson, examined every detail of the cultivation, picking, and treatment of tea leaves at Dehra. At the time of his visit three Chinamen were engaged in the management of the plantations there, but owing to adulteration and bad treatment of the leaves, the cultivation of the plant was not making the same progress as in Kumaon and Garh-

wal. On the other hand, Henry Ramsay had lately distributed two lakhs' worth of seed in the neighbourhood, and was unable to meet all the applications which poured in upon him. Clearly, then, patience and more attention to cultivation would foster at Dehra an industry for which the Governor-General foresaw a great future.

At Rurki there were two great objects of interest, the works on the Ganges Canal, and the Engineering College. The engineers were engaged on the masonry aqueduct intended to carry the canal across the Solani torrent and the bed which it filled annually in the season of floods. This involved a masonry channel of three miles in length, and for this the brick was being made by machinery in a large factory on the spot. As to the college, the remarks set down by Lord Dalhousie are here transcribed in order to show that he had the cause of education deeply at heart. In fact to him India owes a debt of gratitude for the great educational despatch of 1854, of which the whole merit is too often credited to Sir Charles Wood.

The Engineering College is already producing sensible fruit. It has trained many good men, is now training more, and by this useful instruction in a most important branch of the public service, and especially by the communication of this instruction to large numbers of young Natives, it will effect a greater amount of practical good in a shorter time than any measure which the Government of India has ever yet adopted. I derived very sincere gratification from an inspection of this institution.

A few days later he paid a visit to the Bareilly College with its 300 scholars, where the same far-seeing hopes arose before him, and he trusted that "the indifference or prejudice of the higher ranks would be broken down, and the benefits of the college more widely and

rapidly extended." Nor did he neglect the claims of primary education, in connection with which the following incident deserves notice, not merely as showing his interest in all branches of education, but also his high courtesy and the instinctive thoughtfulness of his gracious nature :—

At Nagina I received an old Subadar of the 9th Cavalry, who, having served the Company for more than fifty years, and having been present, as he states, in 107 battles and affairs with the enemy, from the victories of Lord Lake to the battle of Miani, has now returned to settle in his native town. The old man received Rs. 2000 as his share of prize-money in Sind. He has expended it all in building and founding a school in Nagina where forty boys are daily taught, and upon which he continues to expend ten rupees monthly out of his pension of forty rupees a month. All honour be to this old soldier! I gave him a private interview, praised him and talked to him, and gave him a sword when he left me. The next morning I went through the town on the elephant, and stopping at the old gentleman's school, I went in and sat down for a few minutes with his scholars in their places, and the townspeople looking on. I did my best, in short, to show him publicly all the honour he has earned so well.

It was these personal courtesies and the encouragement thus shown to public enterprises of all sorts that gave to Lord Dalhousie's tours their special influence for good.

Exigencies of space forbid any lingering on the route to examine with Lord Dalhousie the field of battle at Fatehganj, or other points of interest in his line of march after leaving the Rohilkhand division. At the end of December he crossed the Ganges and arrived at Fatehgarh, where an important matter of business connected with the young Maharaja Dhulip Sing occupied his attention. The Maharaja, still under the charge of Dr. Login, was settled in the comfortable mansion which had been built for him, with the rooms

furnished in European style, a well-wooded park of broken ground of one hundred and fifty acres giving privacy to the residence, with opportunity for out-of-door pursuits. Here the boy's life was a happy one, but for some months past considerable perplexity had been caused by his alleged desire to embrace the Christian religion, a matter which had been discussed in correspondence with the home authorities, and as to which Lord Dalhousie wished to make sure of the position before he acted. In 1850 the Court of Directors had assented to the wish of the ex-Raja of Coorg to visit England, and his supposed leanings towards Christianity had occasioned some alarm in orthodox minds. Upon a similar desire being expressed by the young Maharaja, the Governor-General had replied that until his education was more advanced a visit to Europe would be a disappointment rather than a pleasure. On political grounds the Marquis also wished to avoid any opening for the insinuation that his young ward had been driven into a change of faith, while on religious grounds he hesitated to interfere with the boy's honest convictions. Personal communication would afford the best opportunity for ascertaining how matters really stood, and during his visit Lord Dalhousie asked the young chief whether he still persisted in the wish he had expressed nearly a year before to be instructed in the Christian faith.

Sitting on the sofa by my side, he turned to me and said, "Yes, I do." Then I said, "Very good, I am rejoiced to hear it. When you wrote to me before, I advised you not to be in haste, to consider well what you were proposing to do, and to make sure that it was not a mere fancy but the real desire of your heart. A year has passed. You tell me you are still of the same mind, and I have only to rejoice in what you say." I told him that I had no wish to place difficulties in the way of his desire; I bade him

now go on in the course his instructors had laid before him—to satisfy himself of the origin and truth of our Holy Book, and then to receive humbly the doctrines which he found in that Book. When fully instructed in the essential tenets of that faith, he might be formally admitted into the Church which he had chosen as his own. In reply to my question, he said he understood perfectly what I had been saying to him.

1852. A short visit from Lord Stanley, then travelling in India, afforded an opportunity for discussing the subject of protection, with the probability of Lord Derby's return to power, and pleasantly varied the monotony of the journey along the Grand Trunk Road. At Cawnpore, where the Governor-General was met by General Vincent accompanied by Subadar Ramchandra Pant, who had fought at Assaye, intelligence reached him from Rangoon which quickened his steps towards Allahabad. But his anxieties were relieved shortly afterwards by "news favourable beyond all our expectation," and he once more hoped that diplomacy, and not the sword, would settle the controversy with the Court of Ava. On Sunday the 18th of January, 1852, Lord Dalhousie reached Allahabad, where on the following day he held a levée, and visited the fort. That his tour so far had improved his health and his spirits is evident from the following humorous entry in his diary:—

I weighed, to see what change three years had made. In November 1848 I was just ten stone, in January 1852 eleven stone and three pounds! Such is the difference between a war and a peace establishment.

The ink had hardly dried upon his diary when intelligence arrived which once again banished his earnest hopes that war would be averted. Pushing on to Benares, he visited the College, and after holding a levée at 9 A.M. on the 26th of January, mounted his

horse to ride and drive to Calcutta as fast as his own animals and hired transport could carry him, while Lady Dalhousie, accompanied by Major Ramsay, did the rest of her travels by boat. At 7 P.M. on the 29th he reached Barrackpore, having accomplished the journey of 400 miles in eighty hours, including stoppages, and one headlong dash of his ponies, which ran away, smashing his carriage and injuring the driver. Halting here for dinner, he proceeded to Government House, Calcutta, and at sunrise on the 30th a salute from Fort William announced the return of its master to the capital of India. Having resumed charge of the Provincial Government of Bengal, the Governor-General held a meeting of the Council of India, from which the members parted "like doves."

For the next few weeks public news from all parts of the empire except Burma continued to be of an assuring character. There was a lull in the outrages and expeditions on the north-western frontier. Ali Murad of Khairpur bowed his head to the decision of the Government, and in view of the strong military force sent out for the purpose, restored peacefully the possessions which he had acquired by fraud. The concessions made to the Sind Amirs, who were in due course allowed to return to their country with a decent provision for their comfort, gave satisfaction. But in his home circle dark clouds were gathering round Lord Dalhousie. James Ramsay, as already mentioned, was seized with cholera, and though his health gradually improved, was for a considerable time incapable of attending to his duties as military secretary. A worse trial still was in store. For soon after her return to Calcutta Lady Dalhousie began to suffer from the first symptoms of a diseased liver, a malady no doubt

aggravated by the hardships undergone during her tours. Before the end of March things had become worse with her, and an entry in the diary for the 28th of that month states that "poor Susan has been so seriously ill that at last the doctors have peremptorily ordered her to quit India with the least possible delay." So completely indeed had her health given way, that she was pronounced unequal to the fatigue of the overland journey across Egypt, and as there was no suitable steamer going home by the Cape route, she sailed for Ceylon by the *Oriental* on the 8th of April, looking very weak and worn to a shadow.

As ever, she behaved gallantly to the last, though as miserable as any one, poor soul, could be. I took her down in the carriage at a foot-pace, and had her carried on board on the 8th. Mr. Grant went with her, and James Ramsay got medical leave and went to Ceylon also. I had a note from her on the 9th, and another reached me to-day written on the 10th. It is, as I feared, desperately hot on board, and she has had a violent attack of tic, poor dear; but she thinks herself better on the whole. Already I feel the solitude dismal; but I am ashamed to talk or think of my own distress, when I know how much more bitter hers will be.

With the heroism of a true woman Lady Dalhousie shrank from adding to her husband's anxiety, but though in her letters to him she continued to speak cheerfully of her health, we shall see in a later chapter that there was no real improvement. Meanwhile the Governor-General had to endure with what patience he could summon the cruel necessity which deprived him of his wife's society at a time when affairs of State were almost overwhelming in their stress, and when Calcutta was exposed to the severity of its hottest season of the year. From one point of view the very magnitude of the task before him was a relief as engrossing his thoughts, and

he was still buoyed up by the expectation of his wife's recovery and her return in the cold weather.

There was one reflection which to a man of his deeply conscientious nature brought strength in bearing the load of his domestic anxieties and his public cares. He was assured alike of the full confidence of the Government he served, and of a fresh call to duty. The circumstances in which he received a further lease of office are told at length in the correspondence now exposed to view; and since they throw fresh light on his character and correct errors of statement made by the press in 1852, and repeated since then, no apology is needed for giving publicity to the facts.

Sir James Hogg, in sending to his friend an account of public affairs at home, wrote, "all this bustle will make you regret not being on the scene of action." On the 23rd of April, 1851, Lord Dalhousie replied from his camp in Kangra:—

Far from it; I congratulate myself for once on my absence from England; not because I think the absence will relieve me of possible future embarrassment in public life, but because the whole thing is distressing and disheartening; and because I hope, when once relieved from this command, never again to hold public office—higher than a Justice of the Peace.

His letter went on to review "the disjointed state of political parties," the tone of Lord Aberdeen regarding Papal movements, and the not unexpected line adopted by Gladstone, who "has taken the tonsure already." In his next letter, dated the 5th of May, he again returned to home politics, summing up in these words: "In short, I think England won't do for me nowadays," and he added that he might find in Chini "a quiet retreat from Popes and politics hereafter." On the 7th of July, 1851, after a silence of

three mails, Hogg reverted to the letters quoted, and said :—

So you wish to persuade me that the Governor-General has no ambitious aspirations, and no longing after the battle-fray at home. It may be that the man who has swayed India could brook nothing intermediate between Premier and a Justice of the Peace. That is my reading of your Arcadian anticipations. Seriously, you have no reason to regret your absence.

Then followed further remarks upon party politics at home. The Marquis of Dalhousie replied on the 22nd of August :—“ You plainly treat my assertion of satiety of public life as either a stupidity or a humbug. It may be the former, perhaps ; the latter it certainly is not ” ; and then he dropped the subject. His diary at the time shows that he was beginning to be anxious about the bringing up of his children, and that he felt deeply the separation from them. But he made no sign which could be interpreted to mean a desire for a speedy return to England, or, on the other hand, a desire for an extension of office in India. Hogg now saw plainly that without a more direct thrust he could not draw forth the information he had indirectly sought. On the 7th of October, therefore, he wrote in the following definite terms :—

I imputed to you neither stupidity nor humbug. My fear is that, if we should have stirring political conflicts here, you will sniff the battle afar off, and haster home to mingle in the fray, which you know you dearly love. My hope and wish is, that if you are blessed with health, you will prolong your stay in India beyond the usual period. I desire this, as in duty bound, for the sake of India, and, I will add, I desire it for your own sake. The successful termination of a war depends upon contingencies not within the control of a Governor-General. But the greater glory of successful civil administration is all his own. I think that in January it will be four years since you assumed the reins. . . .

If you should determine upon returning after five years, it would be very gratifying to me to be in the chair, and suitably to greet your return. I can assure you that the Court would unanimously and gladly send out a request that you should remain, but I think it might be unpleasant to you to have such a request unless you were prepared to acquiesce.

To this direct inquiry an equally direct reply was felt to be unavoidable, and on the 9th of December, 1851, Lord Dalhousie wrote :—

I appreciate at its due value the honourable and important character of the office I hold. Though not a rich man, my decision has not been formed with reference to its large emoluments, and its power and patronage I reckon burdens, not privileges. But I am, like other men, keenly alive to the honour of my name; and I value an employment which will give me reputation, while I am adding to the security, the prosperity, and the happiness of the empire. There are measures of improvement now in hand which I should be proud to complete; there are more and greater near to the birth which I should like to bring into the world. If, therefore, the Court do really feel as you suppose, if they still place confidence in me, and thinking that I may render them good service here, desire that I should continue in the Government during the rest of the present Charter, I will do so if they ask me.

After a reference to his daughters and other considerations, the writer continued :—

I am proud (it is a Scotsman's birthright), and therefore I will not propose it myself; in fact, I could hardly do so in my relations with the present Government, unless I felt that my departure would, under the circumstances of the time, be really detrimental to the public service; in which case, neither pride nor delicacy would prevent my doing what I should feel to be my duty. If you should mention this subject to Mr. Shepherd, I hope you will do me the favour of saying that I wrote in answer to your question, as I should not like to seem to have stirred the matter myself.

These extracts dispose of the report circulated by a leading newspaper in London that he had asked for an extension of office. The further statement that his request had been refused may now be dealt with. While awaiting with some impatience the Governor-General's reply, Hogg, in his letter of the 8th of January, 1852, again made mention of the wishes of the Court, and on the 24th of January he wrote to express the gratification with which Shepherd, Melville, and himself had received the decision to which Lord Dalhousie had come. But he expected that "Johnny, weakened by the discharge of Palmerston, and hampered by his rash pledge of a new Reform Bill," would not stagger on, and he therefore would keep the information to himself for a while. The rest of the story may be gathered from the following passages taken from his diary for June, 1852 :—

In the middle of last month I received a despatch from the Court of Directors "earnestly requesting" me to prolong my administration in India, as they had reason (they said) to apprehend that I was contemplating a return to Europe at the beginning of the next year. The despatch was expressed in handsome terms, and named no limit to the extension of my service which they requested from me. It was signed by twenty-one directors out of the twenty-four, the other three being, I believe, absent. And I know privately from several sources that the proposal was carried in the Court unanimously. By the previous mail I had received a letter from Lord Derby, who made the same request on public grounds, and as a favour to himself.

Matters had in the meanwhile altered for the worse in the domestic concerns of Lord Dalhousie since the correspondence opened, and he was compelled to review the whole position with himself. His wife's health, now so completely broken down, threatened a separation which he could hardly endure to contemplate; his

daughter Susan would soon be sixteen years old, and "that age is one at which the father's and mother's eye and hand are requisite"; while he himself felt "worn and wearied now." Even if he could save £15,000 to wipe off all debts on his property, it would hardly "compensate for the sacrifices to be made and the risks to be run." In India all his hopes and dreams had been shattered by the outbreak of war, with the attendant disturbance of the financial position, and if he were to stay two years beyond his term, something else might occur to frustrate his schemes for the moral and material advancement of the people. On the other hand, the work he had undertaken was still unfinished, and his duty seemed clear. Therefore, as he records in his diary:—

I gave a general consent to a general request that I would continue to retain the office of Governor-General. I felt it right, however, in the circumstances in which I am placed privately, that I should make a proviso that if private considerations should become imperative, I should be permitted to ask for a successor without being considered to have drawn back from the consent I gave. At the same time, I assured the Court that I would not state such considerations to be imperative unless they really were so; and further, that I would not give up the Government while it was in trouble, or until the Court had ample time to provide a successor.

Having with a "heavy heart" despatched an answer in these terms by the mail of the 3rd of June, he wrote to his wife begging her to return to Calcutta for the cold weather, preparatory to going home in January. To her he sketched out his plans. Should he remain in India after the spring of 1854, and should she desire to return thither, he proposed that she should do so in January, 1854, and they would leave the country to-

gether at the beginning of the following year. Such were the plans he formed. How they were disappointed will be seen hereafter. Meanwhile, Lady Dalhousie must be left in the enforced loneliness and depression of her Ceylon retreat, and attention turned to the occurrences in Burma which had hastened the return of the Governor-General to Calcutta, and now chained him there through the sultry months of the hot and rainy seasons of the year 1852.

CHAPTER XII

HOSTILITIES WITH BURMA

Three salient features of Lord Dalhousie's policy—The Company's early relations with Burma—Failure of the Court of Ava to act up to the Treaty of Yandabo—Outrages committed on masters and crews of the *Monarch* and *Champion*—Commodore Lambert, sent to demand reparation, is insulted—Mission of Captain Fishbourne unsuccessful—Fresh terms demanded—Defiant reply of Governor of Rangoon—Peregratory demands of the Governor-General—Lord Dalhousie appoints and instructs his commander-in-chief of the expedition—His military arrangements and distributions of commands—Unsatisfactory behaviour of the 38th Native Infantry—Burmese fire the first shot, and Martaban is taken—Advance against Rangoon and its capture—Bassein taken, and defences of Rangoon strengthened—Resolutions formed by Lord Dalhousie—Letter to home authorities, dated 2nd July, on future course of action—He proceeds to Rangoon to arrange for renewal of campaign—Godwin's proposal to march to Ava rejected—He returns to Calcutta and addresses home Government on 21st of August—Reply of home authorities to letter of 2nd of July—Their insistence upon a treaty—Lord Dalhousie's embarrassment—Hostilities resumed, Prome captured, Pegu reoccupied—Addresses home Government 6th of November on the subject of the proposed treaty—Addresses King of Ava on 16th of November stating terms on which friendly relations can be resumed; home authorities give way, 23rd of December, about treaty—Proclamation of annexation—He is cheered by Lady Dalhousie's return to Calcutta, and by news of his appointment as Lord Warden of Cinque Ports—Closing thoughts on the year 1852.

A careful study of Lord Dalhousie's negotiations with 1851-1852. the Court of Ava, and of his subsequent proceedings,

brings into clear relief three salient features of his policy. He tried by all reasonable means to avoid what he describes as the "mortification of war."

"I have done my very best," he wrote to Hogg on the 23rd of February, 1852, "to avoid war—some people will think *too* much; and I am not to blame for its occurrence. Even now I am acting contrary to my own judgment, in order to catch a chance of still averting extended war and large conquests, by sending an expedition to Rangoon; in the hope that a heavy blow struck at once will bring them to reason now, and render a great campaign unnecessary hereafter."

In the second place, it will be seen that as soon as he had made up his mind that hostilities were inevitable, he lost no time in ensuring victory by the most vigilant forethought and attention to every detail of the preparations. And thirdly, he firmly resisted the counsels of others, and even the directions of the home authorities, thus limiting the penalties of the war to the annexation of Pegu, and avoiding for the time the conquest of the Burman empire as "most injurious to the public interests."

The incident which precipitated the conflict was but one item in a long sequence of insults and aggressions which had marked the relations of the King of Ava with his neighbours, from the time when the Burmese overcame the Talaings of Pegu and put an end to the kingdom of Arakan in 1784. The British had before that date gained painful experience of the ways and methods of the Court of Ava. In 1753 the Company had established a factory at Negrais, and during the contest between the Burmese and the Peguans had endeavoured to be neutral. Six years later ten Englishmen and one hundred natives of India engaged in peaceful trade were treacherously murdered, and

when a mission was despatched to Ava to obtain redress, the only answer vouchsafed by the King was a notice to quit Negrais. In the following year Chittagong passed into British possession as part of the provinces of Bengal ceded by Mir Kasim. As soon as quiet and order were established there under the Company's rule, Maghs and other subjects of the Burmese King sought refuge from the oppression and misrule of their own Government by crossing into Chittagong. The Burmese demanded their surrender, and in pursuit of the refugees they on several occasions violated British territory. To protest against such action, missions were sent to the capital of Ava under Captain Symes and Captain Cox, which not only obtained no redress but were treated with public contempt. The demands previously made by Burma for the surrender of Burmese subjects from Chittagong were repeated, and preposterous claims were even advanced to the possession of part of Bengal as far as Murshidabad, on the ground that this country had once belonged to the kingdom of Arakan, over which the King of Ava now ruled. In Assam and in Kachar the Burmese pursued the same aggressive policy, and attacked a small force placed by the British on the island of Shahpuri at the mouth of the river Naaf. Thus at every point of contact with the Burmese Government the Company's rights were violated and their remonstrances treated with contumely.

The Burmese War of 1824 only partially closed this chapter of insolence, for with the cession of the provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim an ineffective peace was concluded by the Treaty of Yandabo on the 24th of February, 1826. Under the seventh article of that instrument provision was made for the residence of an

accredited minister at the capital of each of the two countries, and under the ninth article equality of treatment was secured for their ships. A commercial treaty was also concluded under which the "utmost security and protection" were guaranteed to the ships of both countries. For seven years, between 1830 and 1837, Colonel Burney had endured slights and annoyances of various kinds as Resident at the Court of Ava, while his successor was treated with such insolence that he was obliged to leave Amarapura; and with the door thus closed to direct official communication between the two Governments, matters rapidly drifted into their former state. Thus one of the main provisions of the treaty of 1826 was frustrated owing to the "intolerable arrogance of the Burman Court," and the result was regarded in Ava as "a cause of triumph and evidence of our inferiority." On his side the Burmese King deputed no representative to reside at Calcutta. He considered the Company unworthy of such an honour. In these circumstances it is not surprising that outrages were frequently reported by our frontier officers, especially in the neighbourhood of Maulmain; and on one occasion King Tharrawaddy went so far as to collect an army of 50,000 men and transport at Rangoon for the invasion of the Company's territories. Nor was the express provision for the protection of British shipping and commerce treated with any more respect than the clause respecting Residents. In a memorial dated the 28th of November, 1851, the Rangoon merchants summarised, in thirty-eight paragraphs, instances of injustice and atrocity which they asserted were "of daily occurrence." They added that the slightest whisper of dissatisfaction was visited with cruel torturing and death.

The two recent complaints which called forth this 1851. general statement were preferred by Robert Sheppard, master of the barque *Monarch*, and by Harrold Lewis, master of the *Champion*, in consequence of the treatment received by them at Rangoon. Sheppard was carried by the police before the Governor of Rangoon in June, 1851, kept in confinement on the charge of throwing a man overboard, and not liberated until security had been given for him by other merchants. He was then fined by the Governor. On an equally false charge of embezzlement he was again arrested, and although acquitted by a court of arbitrators, summoned by the Governor himself, was a second time arraigned on the same charge, and again fined. His crew were imprisoned and one of them severely beaten, and after the extortion of further payments from all of them, the ship's pass was refused. In this case compensation for the actual loss incurred by the ship in fines and delays was carefully assessed at Rs. 3500. The other outrage was somewhat similar in character. The *Champion* arrived at Rangoon from Mauritius in August, 1851. Two stowaway coolies brought a charge against the master Lewis, who being detained by constant attendance at the court of the Governor, paid a sum of Rs. 100 as a settlement. Shortly after this some of the crew deserted, and in the proceedings which ensued a further sum was extorted by the Governor. Finally, a false charge of murder was got up against the master, who, refusing to be made any longer the victim of injustice, appealed to Colonel Bogle, Commissioner of Tenasserim. In this case the damages for detention and compensation were assessed at Rs. 5600. There were also in each of the cases certain other items for

board which were eventually added to the claim for indemnity. The Governor-General was holding his darbar of the Sikh Chieftains at Pinjore when the President in Council referred these matters for his orders. Anxious to avoid a rupture with Ava, but equally determined to protect British traders, and "holding to the wisdom of Lord Wellesley's maxim, that an insult offered to the British flag at the mouth of the Ganges should be resented as promptly and as fully as an insult offered at the mouth of the Thames," Lord Dalhousie resolved to demand reparation from the Governor of Rangoon, and to back his demands by sending Commodore Lambert of Her Majesty's ship *Fox*, with the Company's steamers *Tenasserim* and *Proserpine*, to that port. In the event of the Governor proving defiant, the Commodore was authorised to despatch to the King of Ava a letter from the President in Council which, while it called for removal from office of the Governor, was at the same time couched in moderate terms. Reciting the offences committed and the provisions of the treaty, it went on :—

The Government of India, confident in the belief that the Court of Ava will take a just view of the circumstances that are now placed before it, and will manifest a just sense of its own duty and interests, abstains from every expression which could seem to be at variance with a spirit of friendliness. The Government of India looks for prompt proof of a reciprocal feeling of the Government of Ava to be manifested in its ready compliance with the requirements of the Government of India.

On his arrival at Rangoon the Commodore was presented with the memorial from the merchants to which reference has been made. He therefore took upon himself the responsibility of deviating from his instructions. Withholding the demand for reparation

from the Governor, he in its place sent him, on the 28th of November, the letter addressed to the King, with a request that it should be forwarded to its destination. Together with the letter of the Government of India, he sent one to the Prime Minister explaining that he found on his arrival so many additional complaints that he felt it to be his duty to appeal without delay to the Court of Ava, in order that the Governor might be punished. As to the policy of the step taken by the Government of India, John Lawrence in a letter to Courtenay, the private secretary, asked, "Why did you send a Commodore to Burma if you wanted peace?" and the events which followed may seem at first sight to justify the doubt thus expressed. But the manner in which the Governor received the Commodore's letter, even before he knew its contents, is sufficient to vindicate the measure. As soon as the *Fox* had taken up her moorings, she was ordered by the Governor to remove herself to the position assigned to the mercantile shipping. Communication between the European residents of the port and the Commodore's ship was peremptorily forbidden; and when at last the letter was delivered by Captain Tarleton at a prearranged interview, the Governor received the European officers, who were in full uniform, dressed in his shabbiest clothes and "smoking a cheroot." Lord Dalhousie on reading the report of these proceedings unreservedly commended the discretion of Commodore Lambert in cutting short discussion with the Governor, and in transmitting to the Court of Ava the letter of the Government of India; but he still hoped that the King would remove the Governor and order payment of the compensation claimed by the sailors, amounting to Rs. 9948.

1852. These expectations seemed at first likely to be realised, for on the first day of January, 1852, the Commodore reported to the Governor-General that a new Governor was expected at Rangoon armed by the Golden Foot with authority to settle the British demands. On the 6th of January Commander Fishbourne of H.M.S. *Hermes*, with other officers, carried a letter to the new Governor's house, asking for a settlement of the claims, and suggesting the establishment of a British agent at Rangoon. At a short distance from the house they were told to stop, but affecting not to hear this injunction, they advanced to the foot of the stairs, where they were informed that the great man was asleep and must on no account be disturbed. After waiting some time in the burning sun, and exhausting every polite means of securing access to the Governor, Captain Fishbourne was obliged to retrace his steps, but he did so leisurely, in the vain hope that he might be asked to return. When the Commodore heard the upshot of the visit, he at once proclaimed a blockade of "the rivers of Rangoon, the Bassein, and the Salween above Maulmain," and referred to the President in Council at Calcutta for further orders. He also rather precipitately seized a ship in the river belonging to the King. Lord Dalhousie was "deeply mortified and disgusted," as he wrote to Hogg, by the intelligence of the behaviour of the Burmese Court. He regretted the seizure of the King's ship, observing to Broughton on the 23rd of January, "these Commodores are too combustible for negotiations," but this did not alter the fact that his reasonable demands had been refused. Redress he at once made up his mind to secure, and yet, if that were possible, to avoid being drawn into war.

The simple question was whether the Government of India would submit to exaction, to oppression, to disregard of positive treaty, and to national insult from the Burmese, whether it would submit before all Asia to be driven out of the Burmese empire altogether, or whether it would protect its subjects and enforce its rights. There was but one answer to the question.

So he wrote to Hogg; while to Fox Maule he said in another letter :—

We can't afford to be shown to the door anywhere in the East: there are too many doors to our residence there to admit of our submitting to that movement safely at any one of them.

At the same time he wrote in his diary :—

On one thing I was resolved. It was that whatever might be the outcry, whatever might be the denunciations of the apathy and irresolution of the Government, I would not engage in a war with Ava with the hot season approaching; but would commence operations only with the opening of the cold season 1852.

With this determination he set about exhausting the resources of diplomacy, trying first the effect of a blockade, and then preparing for a preliminary expedition on a strictly limited scale, deferring a serious campaign until after the monsoon.

The door to a peaceful settlement was therefore resolutely kept open. On the 26th of January a remonstrance was sent to the Governor of Rangoon, while at the same time an offer was made to settle the dispute upon the following terms. The Governor was to apologise for the public insult offered to Commander Fishbourne, and to pay at once the compensation of Rs. 9948 already demanded. He was also to consent to receive with due honour a representative whom the Indian Government would appoint under the seventh clause of the Treaty of Yandabo. If these easy terms were accepted, the blockade would be

removed, the ship belonging to Ava which had been seized by the British squadron would be restored, and friendly relations resumed.

This attempt to avoid war was no more successful than the last. The practical difficulty of reaching the ears of a Governor who would not hear was insuperable. As H.M.S. *Fox* was being towed up the river in order that the letter of the Indian Government might be delivered, a cannonade was directed against her from a stockade on the river bank. Commodore Lambert, having silenced the fire, protested against this violation of the *status quo*, and received an aggressive reply. The answer sent to the offer of the President in Council by the Governor of Rangoon, "commanding the forces, and appointed to go and rule a large territory and brave army, after due prostration at the royal feet, and after taking counsel with Meng Tarahgyee Phooyah, who is all-powerful Lord of the Universe, Master of the Tshat-tang elephant, and all White Elephants, and Lord of Life, he who is like unto the Lotus-flower,"—was defiant in terms and substance. It asserted that the British officers had been drinking when they invaded his residence while he was asleep, and that Commodore Lambert had violated the proprieties of a great embassy.

Lord Dalhousie, who had by this time reached Calcutta, was now forced to the conclusion that there was no alternative but to prepare for hostilities; it was useless to court further insults from a local Governor, and the British in India could not safely afford to exhibit even a temporary appearance of inferiority. At the same time a final chance was to be given to the Court of Ava of averting war. The British Government would even now accept an apology,

the payment of the compensation due to Sheppard and Lewis, the honourable reception of its agent at Rangoon, and a further payment of ten lakhs of rupees in consideration of the expenses which it was about to incur in preparation for the expedition. These terms were conveyed to the King of Ava in a letter, intentionally peremptory in tone, from the Governor-General, dated the 18th of February, 1852. When the correspondence was sent home, the President of the Board of Control referred to this communication as couched in too severe terms. To this criticism Lord Dalhousie replied on the 6th of April:—

I do not acquiesce in its soundness. It is not unnatural that an English statesman accustomed to the language of diplomacy employed in communications between highly civilised states should feel disinclination to a tone of menace. But no Indian potentate would attend to any command conveyed as a European power would word it. Least of all would the Burmese sovereign have paid the smallest heed to any dignified remonstrance such as you advise, unless it were accompanied by a clear intimation of consequences.

The following are the passages which led to the President's criticism, and in the light of the facts before Lord Dalhousie they need no justification of their severity:—

If without further delay, negotiation, or correspondence these conditions shall be consented to, and shall be fulfilled on, or before, the 1st day of April next, hostile operations shall be stayed, peace between the States shall be renewed, and the King's ship shall be restored. But if, untaught by former experience, forgetful of the irresistible power of the British arms in India, and heedless of the many additional proofs that have been given of its might (here followed instances), the King of Ava shall unwisely refuse the just and lenient conditions which are now set before him, the British Government will have no alternative but immediate war. The

guilt and consequences of war will rest upon the head of the Ruler of Ava.

It is unnecessary to review in detail the events and the correspondence which took place in the interval between the despatch of this letter and the commencement of war. On other parts of the British frontier the Burmese continued to show an aggressive spirit, and collisions took place between the blockading squadron and the shore batteries at various points on the banks of the rivers. Matters drifted inevitably into open hostilities, and from the failure of moderate counsels and diplomatic overtures we may pass on to examine the preparations which Lord Dalhousie organised with a military genius that won the admiration of his colleagues and commanded success.

The first step was to secure an efficient commander-in-chief, the next was to ensure his hearty co-operation with the Governor-General. As Lord Dalhousie had expected, Sir William Gomm selected General Godwin to command the expedition. Godwin was a little man, advanced in years, but remarkably vigorous and active both in mind and body. He left Meerut on the 22nd of February, and travelled with such speed that he reached Calcutta on the 3rd of March. He had served in the previous war with Burma, and his experience of its difficulties in the way of climate and transport made him at the outset most unwilling to undertake any expedition up the Irrawaddy, or even to retain occupation of Rangoon, after its capture, during the rainy season. Lord Dalhousie invited him to be his guest, and with tact and perseverance set himself to overcome these scruples.

I observed that the circumstances of the present day and of the service which is contemplated differed very greatly from those of 1824 ;

and that I was not without hope that on gradually perceiving these differences, General Godwin might be led to modify his objections to an occupation of Rangoon. I impressed upon him that the Government had not doggedly resolved that he should hold Rangoon. They desired he should do so, if it could be done with safety to the health of the troops; but if on his arrival there, after a careful consideration of the subject on the spot, he should still object, he would be invested with a discretionary power to withdraw them.

General Godwin yielded, as others had done, a captive to the personal influence of his host, and before long came to recognise the essential difference of circumstances between 1852 and 1824.

The essence of the distinction lay in the character of the man at the head of the Government. Lord Dalhousie thought of everything, and provided beforehand for every contingency. He furnished the force with a perfect medical equipment, and by storing at Amherst an abundant supply of fresh meat and other necessities, effectually guarded against any repetition of the scarcity of food which had decimated the troops in 1824. In lieu of the sailing vessels which during the monsoon could not in those days communicate even with Calcutta under four months, he placed a fleet of steamers under the control of the General. The rich provinces of Arakan and Tenasserim, now under British rule, were bidden to hold their resources at the disposal of the military authorities. Twenty ships were employed in carrying from Maulmain to Rangoon 3000 tons of wood, cut to size by Chinese carpenters, for the ready construction of seventy-one barracks at Rangoon and Prome, together with rafters, mats, rattans, and similar material gathered from Mergui and Tavoy under the orders of Colonel Bogle, Commissioner in the Tenasserim province. So promptly was this measure

carried out that the first shiploads of this material arrived in April before the ground was ready for the construction of the barracks, while a large quantity of bullocks and an abundance of other meat ensured the issue of fresh rations on the 21st of April, seven days after the taking of Rangoon, and thereafter salt rations were only needed twice a week. For the sick and wounded, ranges of hospitals were constructed at Amherst, with a sufficient number of steamers to convey patients thither as occasion might require. A careful check was imposed on the supply of spirits to the troops. These measures were rewarded with the success they deserved, for during the second Burmese war the proportion of deaths by disease and sickness was generally lower than that prevailing amongst the troops in the plains of India. Such illness as there was arose from the excessive consumption of pine-apples, which were sold at the rate of one hundred for a shilling, and proved at that price an irresistible temptation to the British soldier. The equipment, collection, and despatch of the force of 6000 men, with thirty-five pieces of siege artillery, supported by fifteen steamers and a squadron of thirteen ships, including three from the Royal Navy, armed with a hundred guns, were equally satisfactory. Lord Dalhousie himself accompanied General Godwin on board H.M.S. *Hermes* on the 26th of March, and infused his own enthusiasm and spirit into the minds of his generals. He was careful, moreover, to hold the balance true between the claims of the armies into which the forces of India were then divided. Since the supreme command went to a Queen's officer, the Company's services were gratified by the several brigadiers being chosen from their constituent parts. The jealousy between the armies of

Bengal and Madras was soothed by due regard being paid to the presidency from which the departments were sent. Thus Bengal furnished the medical establishment and the artillery park; and the heads of those departments, as well as the adjutant-general, were chosen from that presidency. To Madras fell the appointments of quartermaster-general, the judge advocate-general, and the officer in command of the field artillery; while each of these presidencies sent its own commissariat. Three of Her Majesty's regiments, the 18th, the 51st, and the 80th, five companies of European artillery, and three regiments of Native infantry, besides sappers and miners, constituted the force of 5767 men assembled for the initial expedition.

One episode marred the entire satisfaction with which Lord Dalhousie reviewed his preparations. The 38th Native Infantry, known as the Bengal Volunteers, because in 1799 it had volunteered to go to Seringapatam, was stationed at Barrackpore; and its commandant, Colonel Burney, having reported its readiness to proceed to Burma, the Government offered it the option of going on active service or of relieving the 67th Regiment in Arakan. In announcing this alternative Colonel Burney adopted a tone which the Sepoys resented as intimidation. General Warren therefore ordered the men to be paraded before himself, and asked them, company by company, whether they would go by sea. Respectfully, but firmly, the regiment declined to do so, though it was prepared to march anywhere by road. Its destination was therefore altered to Arakan; but before the issue of orders to this effect, it became "clear that the regiment was in an excited state, they were full of suspicions, and open to

the evil influences of misunderstanding and misrepresentation."

"I could not fail," wrote Lord Dalhousie, "to remember the melancholy incident in the same station of Barrackpore on the same occasion of the march of troops for a Burmese war, when from some misunderstanding and want of judicious and temperate handling, the Native troops were at length massacred as mutineers. Bearing that sad scene in mind, I felt that while I should never advise the Government to permit open disobedience of its orders, to truckle to its Sepoys, or in any the slightest degree to compromise its own authority; yet if it were practicable to modify existing orders, so as to avert an occasion which stupidity or error might make use of for a manifestation of discontent, or even of open mutiny, it would be a wise act for the Government to avoid such occasion for misapprehension, and so to preserve the men from the certain consequences of their own folly. Since then the 38th had declared their readiness to march—since no orders to march had been issued and consequently no such orders had been disobeyed—since there appeared no reason from the brigadier's statement to doubt that they would march for Arakan if ordered, the Government did not compromise its authority by altering the destination of the corps. If there were good reason for the rumours of insubordination, an occasion of outbreak was avoided without lowering the Government; if there were no foundation for the rumours, all was right. Accordingly for the reasons stated above, the 38th Regiment were not required to march at this late season to Arakan. But we thought it right that they should march. They were accordingly ordered to Dacca to relieve the 74th Regiment and to strengthen the frontier towards Assam."

The Governor-General's opinion was concurred in by General Godwin as well as by his colleagues in Council. That the incident made an impression upon him is clear from the mention of it in his diary, and from his somewhat elaborate justification of his decision. Later on in the year an outbreak of cholera visited Dacca, and the regiment suffered heavily. Its example, however, of doubtful subordination did not spread; on

the contrary, other regiments, including the 3rd and 4th Sikhs, raised for local service in the Punjab, volunteered for the front. Lord Dalhousie, satisfied in his mind that Colonel Burney had mismanaged the matter, and gratified by the conduct of these other regiments, evidently thought no more of the matter. If he could have foreseen the events of the 11th of May, 1857, when the main guard at the Kashmir gate of Delhi, composed of men of the same regiment, refused to fire on the mutineers, he might have taken a different view. It may be necessary hereafter to recall attention to this episode, but for the present we must follow the expedition to the Rangoon river, where the force from Calcutta arrived on the 2nd of April. Here Rear-Admiral Austen with his naval squadron was already awaiting the arrival of the General in command of the troops.

The *Proserpine* under a flag of truce was at once sent up to Rangoon to inquire whether any reply had been received from the Court at Ava. The flag was fired upon, and the Company's steamer which carried it, after silencing the fire from the stockade, returned to the rendezvous. The first shot had been fired by the Burmese, but since the troops from Madras had not arrived, it was resolved for the present to confine operations to an attack upon Martaban, for which purpose 1400 of the Bengal troops were embarked. This town, which now belongs to the Amherst district, was situated on the right bank of the Salween, opposite Maulmain, with a noble sheet of water in front of it, and guarded by a river-line of defences extending 800 yards. Behind them lay a fine pagoda surrounded by a wall about 500 feet above the level of the river, in which some 5000 Burmese troops were sheltered. At

6.30 A.M. on the 5th of April the *Rattler*, with the Commander-in-Chief on board, opened fire; the troops were soon afterwards landed in boats; and by 8 A.M. the pagoda was in our hands, with a loss of only eight men out of the two regiments which led the assault. On board ship the casualties were more numerous.

A small garrison was left to hold the place; and on the arrival of the Madras division preparations were made for the capture of Rangoon. On the 11th of April, Easter Sunday, the Admiral moved opposite the Old Town, intending to bombard the stockades on the morrow, but was met by a hot fire, which he promptly returned, destroying the whole line of the river defences on both sides. When on the following morning the troops were landed, they encountered a strong body of the enemy, who showed an unexpected proficiency in the art of war by taking them on the flank. The stockade was not captured without loss, the casualties including the death from sunstroke of both officers and men. It was evident that stubborn resistance must be expected, and the next day was therefore spent in landing rations and in getting up the heavy guns. On the 14th of April everything was ready for the combined movement of the military forces and the naval brigade against the great pagoda and the town of Rangoon. The troops set out at 5 A.M., marching through the thick jungle for a mile, until they reached the spot where the eastern side of the pagoda was exposed to them. By this manoeuvre they turned the position of the Burmese, who were entrenched in the stockades round the town, and entirely upset their calculations. As soon as the movement was realised, the guns of the pagoda were trained upon the British, and some little time was spent in getting our batteries into

action. Meanwhile the men on our side dropped fast where they stood, and, in order to terminate the suspense, Colonel Coote of the 18th Royal Irish was directed to lead a storming party, which advanced steadily across the interval of 800 yards in the teeth of shot and shell till it reached the steps of the pagoda. Then with a deafening cheer the soldiers rushed up the terrace, the Burmese garrison fleeing in confusion from the gates on the south and west, only to be met there by the fire from the steamers. There was no further fighting: Rangoon, with a hundred pieces of artillery, fell into our hands at a loss of 149 killed and wounded, besides some 30 of the naval force. Lieutenant Doran of the Royal Irish, who had been married only a week before he was ordered to Maulmain, fell on the steps of the pagoda pierced by six balls. Two officers of the Madras contingent died from sunstroke on the field of battle, and General Warren, as well as Admiral Austen, suffered severely from the effects of exposure. The latter was obliged to proceed to Calcutta, and before the end of the year succumbed to an attack of cholera at Prome.

Bassein, sixty miles up the river, was the next place to fall to an assault by Colonel Errington. A small force was left to hold it. Meanwhile the slender garrison placed at Martaban was attacked on the 26th of May by a Burmese army of 10,000 men. The Madras infantry, however, held them at bay, and timely aid from one of the ships completed their discomfiture. In Rangoon there was not only no renewal of the attack, but the prompt manner in which the barracks were set up and the arrangements completed for the defence of the town inspired confidence in the neighbouring population. The former inhabitants

returned, rebuilt their simple houses which had suffered in the bombardment, and entered into the most friendly relations with their new conquerors. Supplies poured in from all sides, and trustworthy information was readily given as to the movements of the Burmese troops. Wherever the steamers proceeded up the Irrawaddy and its several branches the people welcomed their arrival, and from Pegu itself an appeal for help against their Burmese enemies was preferred by the Talaings. A force despatched to their aid drove the Burmese out of the great pagoda, and restored the city for a brief period into the hands of a descendant of the former ruling dynasty. Thus Lord Dalhousie's views as to the difference between the circumstances of the present and of the former war were justified at every point. From the Court of Ava, however, there was no sign of submission, and although the expedition had fully realised all the expectations of the Governor-General, it was clear that the heart of his golden-footed Majesty, "the Lord of the Universe," was still hardened. It is true that the preliminary operations which Sir James Hogg characterised as brought to a successful issue by "troops well housed, well fed, and well clothed," had placed the whole sea-board in the hands of the Governor-General, and secured his control over the food supplies and trade of the kingdom of Ava. Nevertheless the King fondly hoped that history would repeat itself. What cholera and fever had done in 1825 might be repeated in 1852. Without land transport, and with the river flood subsiding, British troops could not reach Amarapura. Therefore His Majesty was content to maintain a dogged silence and to wait for the turn of the tide of invasion.

In this position of affairs Lord Dalhousie formed his

own resolutions. His first step was to address the home authorities and to seek their sanction to his proposals for a final settlement, a matter which the Secret Committee had expressly reserved for their own decision. His next step was to complete his preparations so that he might be able to advance as soon as a reply was received from England; and in order to avoid the delay of correspondence and to study the facts of the case on the spot, he proceeded to Rangoon and there conferred with the naval and military authorities.

In an exhaustive minute, dated the 30th of June and sent home in a letter dated the 2nd of July, the Governor-General placed his views before his colleagues. Reviewing the conduct and the result of the preliminary expedition, he pointed out that though a severe blow had been struck, it was indispensable for the security and supremacy of the British power in India to vindicate the superiority of its arms, and to take effectual pledges against a renewal of outrage. The intolerable arrogance of the Burmese Court, which he illustrated by examples and by quotations from official records, must be humbled by further hostilities, to be renewed in November. Meanwhile, if the King of Burma should make overtures for peace before heavy expenditure had been incurred, the Governor-General would be ready to entertain them, on condition that an indemnity of £150,000 was paid, and that the Negrais and Diamond Islands, as well as the district of Martaban, were ceded to the British. The residence at Rangoon of an agent to the Governor-General was also among the stipulations. On the other hand, if no overtures were received, the war would have to be prosecuted with vigour until the province of Pegu had

been subjugated and annexed. In answer to an objection that might be raised, Lord Dalhousie wrote as follows :—

In the earliest stage of the present dispute I avowed my opinion that conquest in Burma would be a calamity second only to the calamity of war : that opinion remains unchanged. If any adequate alternative for the confiscation of territory could have been found by me, or had been suggested to me, my mind would most readily have adopted it. If conquest is contemplated by me now, it is not as a positive good, but solely as the least of those evils before us from which we must of necessity select one. But after constant and anxious reflection, through the months during which hostilities have been in progress, I can discover no escape from the necessity.

Nevertheless he laid before the authorities his arguments for and against five separate courses of action. We might retire without exacting any cession, content with the proof given of the superiority of our arms. The objection to that course was written large in the history of the past. "The Court of Ava would interpret in its own way a moderation which neither it nor its neighbour nations could comprehend." A second course was to retain possession of Martaban only. This would afford no valid security for future peace, and would be a withdrawal from the terms previously demanded. A third course would be the retention of Rangoon as well as Martaban. This would leave Bassein open to Ava as their new port, and the defence of Rangoon would be difficult and expensive. Or, as a fourth alternative, we might hold Martaban, Rangoon, and Bassein ; but again we should incur heavy charges without the advantage of commanding the revenues of the adjoining province. There remained the fifth course of retaining the whole province

of Pegu, somewhat above Prome. The Governor-General warned the authorities that "it would be absolutely necessary to increase the European force at the disposal of the Government of India by three regiments." But he showed that this could be done, and the annexation of Pegu would be a "consolidation" rather than an extension of our dominions. It would unite Arakan with Tenasserim, and thus strengthen our hold upon the territory already under British government. In a few short crisp sentences he expressed his conviction that it would be better to confine our operations to Pegu and not to proceed to Ava. It would be enough to declare our intention to retain Pegu after we had occupied it. But since he recognised the danger to the Peguans of exposing them to the ghastly cruelties of the Burmese, he was unwilling to announce any such intention until it should have been confirmed by the sanction of Her Majesty's Government. The preparations for a renewal of hostilities would proceed, but nothing would be done "to fetter the decision of the home authorities, or to create hopes in the minds of the Talaings which might not be realised."

When this minute, in which Sir Frederick Currie and Mr. Lowis concurred, had been sent home, Lord Dalhousie at once applied himself to the task of completing the preparations for a campaign in November. He therefore, as we have seen, made up his mind to proceed to Rangoon, there to settle a number of details. Leaving Currie as President in Council and Deputy-Governor of Bengal, and taking with him the Secretary to Government, Allen, and the Superintendent of Marine, he embarked on the *Firoze* on the 21st of July. Banks, who was acting as his Military Secretary, and two aides-de-camp, D'Oyly and Campbell, accom-

panied him, but the Commissary-General was prevented by illness from forming one of the party. The voyage was most unpleasant, and Lord Dalhousie suffered from a severe attack of sore throat. General Godwin and Commodore Lambert, in the absence of Admiral Austen, met his Excellency on the arrival of the *Firoze*, and on the following day he landed in a deluge of rain caused by the discharge of the 68-pounders which fired his salute. Plunging at once into the serious business that had brought him to Rangoon, he conferred with the naval and military authorities in regard to the objective of the future campaign, the reinforcements needed, and the date upon which hostilities should be renewed. Gradually, as he mastered all the facts, he convinced General Godwin that there was nothing to be gained by an advance against Amarapura. Godwin's idea was to march in November, when 300 elephants and other transport animals should have arrived from India, together with supplies and large reinforcements of troops, including ten regiments, besides artillery and engineers. His plans contemplated the probability of having to spend the rains of 1853 at the capital of Ava. But Lord Dalhousie pointed out the enormous cost of such operations. Once the river was left, we must rely upon our own carriage, for the buffaloes of the country were of little service. Food-supplies were scarce, the Burmese troops as they retired having invariably destroyed whatever they had not consumed or could not carry away with them. Communications between the columns marching by land and the river would have to be maintained, and the total number of river-boats which could be collected was inadequate. To these considerations Godwin deferred, and in the end he concurred with the Governor-General that with Pegu

in our hands it would not be necessary to advance beyond Prome. For operations thus limited he would be satisfied with a much smaller force than he had at first suggested, and he calculated that with 5000 men the province could be securely held, if sufficient garrisons were placed at other points. This question being settled, Lord Dalhousie came to the conclusion that it would not be necessary to wait till November before hostilities were resumed. The campaign might even commence in the middle of September, and in this way full advantage would be taken of the higher level of the stream in the Irrawaddy before it had subsided. The flotilla already being collected would enable the military authorities to place 2500 men in Prome, a garrison sufficient to hold their own until reinforcements could be brought up from Rangoon.

With the plan of operations thus agreed upon, and having smoothed down certain difficulties which were inevitable in joint operations conducted by three services—the military forces, the royal navy, and the Indian marine—the Governor-General hastened back to Calcutta, which he reached on the 6th of August. There he explained to his colleagues all he had learned and done, and in a minute dated the 13th of August, which was sent home on the 21st of that month, he summarised the dispositions he had laid down, with the special object of conveying to General Godwin a plain direction “not to undertake a march upon the capital of Burma,” to order two brigades to join him from Calcutta and Madras, and to entrust to Commodore Lambert the collection and preparation of the flotilla of native boats. It was also suggested that the force for the occupation of Pegu should start in September. In a much longer minute, dated the 10th of August,

the Governor-General entered into a full examination of the position as he had found it at Rangoon, and discussed in detail the preparations for the advance of the troops. In justification of his orders that this advance should be strictly confined to the subjugation of Pegu, he laid stress upon the absence of land transport, the paucity of supplies, the necessity of spending the hot season of 1853 at Ava, if we ever went there, and the fruitless waste of money involved in such extended operations. He also proposed to instruct General Godwin simply to forward for orders any overtures that might possibly be received from Ava, without suspending his operations. By some accident this minute was not included in his despatch dated the 21st of August to the Secret Committee, though reference was made to it by them in their subsequent letter of the 23rd of October.

Fortunately, however, for this mischance, the orders issued by the Secret Committee in their despatch dated the 6th of September, which replied to the Governor-General's letter of the 2nd of July, gave sufficient authority to Lord Dalhousie to proceed upon the lines which he wished to follow. His conduct of the war was warmly approved, and the permanent annexation of Pegu, including Prome within its northern limit, was sanctioned as a necessary measure of redress for the past and of security for the future, if the Court of Ava should not have made overtures. If it had done so, the Committee were inclined to think that the terms suggested by the Government of India were too moderate. All that the home authorities could do in that contingency was "to rely upon your judgment and prudence for adapting to the existing circumstances of the case any treaty which you may be

induced, consistently with your views of our interests and honour, to conclude." If on the other hand, as was most probable, no overtures had been received, and if consequently Pegu were subjugated, then the conclusion of the war must be marked "by a treaty with the King of Ava, of which that cession should be the basis, or by the entire subjugation of that power." Upon this point the Committee was emphatic in its decision. Simultaneously with Godwin's advance, the King was to be offered the alternative of signing a treaty for the cession of Pegu, or of being "prepared for all the consequences which he will bring upon himself by the further prosecution of the war." The insistence of the home authorities upon a treaty was repeated on the 7th of October, when the Governor-General's despatch of the 21st August reached them.

We continue to be decidedly of opinion that the war cannot be satisfactorily terminated except by a treaty, upon the conditions pointed out in our instructions, or upon such other terms as the obstinacy and folly of the Court of Ava may compel you to impose upon it.

Here, then, was a new difficulty thrust upon the Governor-General. At the beginning of the conflict he had been urged by the Board to be cautious and not to be dragged into war. When war commenced he was told to limit its operations, and to take no final steps without sanction from home. The *Times*, in its leading article of the 3rd of February, 1852, had protested—

We shall gradually push on from Rangoon to Prome, and from Prome to Ava, good reason being never wanted for a fresh advance. Against these temptations we trust the firmness of the Imperial Government will be exerted to preserve us.

And now the only hope of moderation lay in the masterful ruler who had annexed the Punjab without orders from home. The Imperial Government and even the London press quickly veered round, and soon demanded either the subjugation of Burma or the public humiliation of a treaty imposing such terms as no King of Ava, Lord of the Universe, was in the least likely to sign without suffering another defeat. The thorough examination which Lord Dalhousie had given to the matter while at Rangoon had shown that neither transport nor supplies were available for a march upon Ava. But here were his orders, and he reflected that whatever might be their result on the question of a treaty, at least they did not prevent the immediate prosecution of hostilities in Pegu. Nor was it necessary to alter any of the instructions already issued by the Government of India.

Hostilities accordingly proceeded, and although they entailed great hardships on our troops, there were no splendid victories to attract public attention. On the 9th of October the squadron arrived in front of Prome with the transports and some 2300 soldiers. Without much difficulty Her Majesty's ships silenced the enemy's batteries, and the troops when landed quickly dispersed the four thousand Burmese soldiers who remained to oppose them. On the following day they took possession of the city and the pagoda, and received at the same time intelligence of a Burmese force, said to amount to 18,000 men, holding a strong position behind stockades about ten miles to the east of the river. At Prome, as in other affairs, Godwin secured success at a trifling loss by turning the position taken up by the Burmese; and on the 15th of October General Bandula, the Commander-in-Chief of the

Burmese forces, surrendered himself. Attention was now turned to Pegu, which on the withdrawal of our troops had been again occupied by the enemy, and greatly strengthened by stockades and defences on the river-side. On the 19th of November General M'Neill, supported by a flotilla under Commander Shadwell, R.N., proceeded by river to carry out the operations entrusted to him. The enemy were found posted in a square surrounded by a high embankment, each side of which was about two miles in length. Round the embankment was a moat of eighty paces, crossed by a causeway parallel with the river. An entrance by this causeway, thronged with troops and protected by defensive works, was impossible, and nothing remained but to endeavour to turn the position on the south face of the square. For two hours the British Sepoys forced their path through thick jungle on the edge of the moat until they reached a point where a storming attack could be delivered. The assault, assisted by our artillery, was successful, and after a short rest another rush was made for the pagoda, the place being taken shortly after noon on the 21st of November at a loss of thirty-nine men killed and wounded. A small garrison of 400 men was left to hold Pegu, which a few days later gallantly repulsed a large force of the enemy that made a night attack upon them; and reinforcements being speedily sent from Rangoon, the British garrison was relieved on the 14th of December. But little was to be gained by penetrating further into the country. For though the enemy never stood to be attacked, Godwin found himself powerless from want of land transport to effect anything of importance, while the British troops suffered considerable hardships without any compensating gain.

Lord Dalhousie's reluctance to hamper himself by awaiting the result of negotiations with Ava, or to undertake a march upon its capital, was thoroughly justified by the course that events had taken. He had now subjugated Pegu, and all that remained of the task which he had deliberately undertaken was to annex the province, and to overcome the objections which he foresaw would be made to his doing so without negotiations with the King. It was all very well for the Secret Committee to desire to conclude peace on condition that Pegu should be ceded by formal treaty; or that, in the event of such treaty being refused, the war should be persisted in till Ava was reduced. To treat with a potentate who contemptuously ignored all endeavours in that direction was an almost hopeless task. On the other hand, to carry the war into the enemy's capital was impossible without a sacrifice which could not be endured in the existing state of the Indian finances, and of the military resources at the Governor-General's disposal. These things had to be made clear to the authorities at home, and in a minute dated the 3rd of November Lord Dalhousie placed before the Board of Control this part of the difficulties by which he was beset.

It is the duty of the Governor-General in Council to obey the instructions of the Secret Committee. But it is a duty not less imperative upon him, that he should respectfully and frankly set before the Committee such objections as careful consideration may, in his deliberate judgment, suggest to details of policy enjoined by the Committee.

From that duty he did not shrink, and, as often happens, a study of the details proved that the policy advocated from home was unsound. He showed that Eastern nations, and Burma in particular, "set little

store" by treaties. As a barrier against hostility such an instrument would be "as flimsy as the paper on which it is traced." Overtures to negotiate would be regarded as a sign of weakness, and it was "in the last degree improbable that the King will consent to sign a treaty ceding Pegu." Turning then to the military operations by which the Court of Ava was to be forced to sign a useless document, he showed that "such a movement is simply impossible. The Government of India has not at its disposal the means of effecting it." Proceeding to details, he reminded the Committee that the steam flotilla of eleven vessels could only carry 1200 men with their stores and equipment, because the fall of 15 feet in the river rendered two of them useless beyond Prome. The total distance from the base to be covered in an advance to Amarapura would be 600 miles, and innumerable risks would have to be run. Movement by land was impossible owing to the absence of roads, the lack of transport animals, and the want of supplies in a country which had been denuded and deserted. Swamps and jungle would aggravate the difficulty of an advance. The cost of moving troops from Prome to the capital, a distance of 400 miles, would be stupendous, and when the Burmese Government was subjugated we should have to provide a large military force and the means of civil government, which we did not possess. All that our interests required was reparation for the past and security for the future. The occupation of Pegu would effect both these objects. We should thus hold the kernel of the Burman empire in our hand, while by the occupation of Ava we should encumber ourselves with "an armful of worthless rind." If the lapse of time

Dalhousie himself expected would be the case, compel us to advance, we would then fulfil our destiny without having lost anything by delay. As he aptly expressed himself to a correspondent, we could take "the second bite of the cherry" when we felt inclined. But for the present we ought to abstain from a menace which must lead to the immediate advance of an army and the conquest of Burma. Accordingly, Lord Dalhousie proposed to carry out the orders of the Secret Committee only so far as to endeavour to obtain a treaty by addressing the King of Burma, but to convey his communication in such terms as not to involve immediate war if the treaty were refused. In the meanwhile hostilities would proceed, as we have seen they did proceed, until our occupation of Pegu should be consolidated, and after an interval its annexation would be proclaimed, whether the King agreed to a treaty or not. In these views the Governor-General's colleagues concurred, although Sir John Littler, who had now returned to Calcutta, expressed in a short minute the opinion that a march upon the capital of Ava was both practicable and expedient. On the 6th of November these minutes were despatched to the Secret Committee.

The strong man and his stronger arguments prevailed. In a brief despatch, dated the 23rd of December, the home authorities comforted themselves with the reflection that the Governor-General's proposals were "well adapted to the fulfilment of our directions, and the attainment of the conclusion, which they pointed out to you." They went on:—"We should deplore the necessity of further conquest, and we strongly feel the many serious objections to the annexation of any

prompted a Parthian shot at the autocratic Marquis. "We see with satisfaction by the minute of Sir John Littler, whose military experience entitles his opinion to great consideration, that he does not estimate the difficulties of an advance upon Ava as being of so grave a character as to present a material obstacle to the adoption of that course, if it should be rendered necessary by the persevering hostility of the Burmese." But before these remarks reached the Government of India, Lord Dalhousie had completed his task. On the 16th of November, 1852, a dignified letter was addressed by him to the King of Ava informing him of the annexation of Pegu, and of the intentions of the Indian Government. His Majesty was told that if he would send duly accredited agents, within a month from the date of the despatch from Prome of that communication, empowered to surrender Pegu and to grant full liberty to trade with Burma, relations of friendship would be renewed, and similar trading rights would be assured to the Burmese. If he failed to do so, the British Government would exercise the control it had acquired over the supplies and resources of Burma, and would repel and punish any aggression. Hostilities thus resumed would end in the entire subjugation of Burma.

The King took no notice of this letter, and consequently, on the 20th of December, the proclamation was issued declaring the province of Pegu to be now and henceforth a portion of the British territories. The full text ran as follows :—

The Court of Ava having refused to make amends for the injuries and insults which British subjects had suffered at the hands of its servants, the Governor-General of India in Council resolved to exact reparation by force of arms.

The forts and cities upon the coast were forthwith attacked and captured. The Burman forces have been dispersed wherever they have been met; and the province of Pegu is now in the occupation of British troops.

The just and moderate demands of the Government of India have been rejected by the King. The ample opportunity that has been afforded him for repairing the injury that was done, has been disregarded; and the timely submission, which alone could have been effectual to prevent the dismemberment of his kingdom, is still withheld.

Wherefore in compensation for the past, and for better security in the future, the Governor-General in Council has resolved, and hereby proclaims, that the province of Pegu is now, and shall be henceforth, a portion of the British territories in the East.

Such Burman troops as may still remain within the province shall be driven out. Civil government shall immediately be established, and officers shall be appointed to administer the affairs of the several districts.

The Governor-General in Council hereby calls upon the inhabitants of Pegu to submit themselves to the authority, and to confide securely in the protection of the British Government, whose power they have seen to be irresistible, and whose rule is marked by justice and beneficence.

The Governor-General in Council having exacted the reparation he deemed sufficient, desires no further conquest in Burma, and is willing to consent that hostilities should cease.

But if the King of Ava shall fail to renew his former relations of friendship with the British Government, and if he shall recklessly seek to dispute its quiet possession of the province it has now declared to be its own, the Governor-General in Council will again put forth the power he holds, and will visit, with full retribution, aggressions, which, if they be persisted in, must of necessity lead to the total subversion of the Burman State, and to the ruin and exile of the King and his race.

The campaign was now over, and less anxious days seemed at hand. The return of his "dear wife" on the 28th of October had brought gladness to Lord Dalhousie's heart, though he realised at once that her stay

must be short, and that she must return home in the following year. Elsewhere the prospects before him were brighter. General Frazer had relieved him from difficulties by resigning his post as Resident at Hyderabad, where he was "personally obnoxious to the Nizam," and therefore an inconvenience to the Governor-General. The Ranizais and other disturbers on the north-western frontier were quieting down. From home there had arrived fresh expressions of public confidence. The mail which left London on the 7th of October brought him a letter from Lord Derby intimating the Queen's pleasure to nominate him Lord Warden of the Cinque Ports in succession to his loved patron the Duke of Wellington. The quidnuncs had inferred from this appointment that the Governor-General was about to leave his post in India and join the Government of Lord Derby. Some wiser heads had put another interpretation upon the circumstance. Lord Dalhousie had tried, they said, to get a renewal of his term of office from the Court, and this had been refused. He was therefore made Lord Warden as a compensation for his disappointment. But one who had so lately accepted a prolongation of his office, could afford to smile at these conjectures; and he had received, what he valued above all other honours, a kindly letter from Her Majesty—who, with the grace and royal consideration that always won the hearts of her subjects, had written to encourage him in his anxieties, and to commend the services he had rendered to his country.

The eventful year 1852 sank to its rest, as was fitting, with the boom of cannon announcing from the ramparts of Fort William that a new province was annexed to the dominions of the East India Company in trust for the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland.

For Lord Dalhousie it also closed with a confession of his thankfulness, and of earnest hope for the future. The last words of his diary for the year were:—

God He knows how fervently I desired to avert this necessity—of war. God He knows that to Him alone I give the glory of our victories and of this conquest; and however our poor human weakness and contracted foresight may fret and lament over a necessity which I deprecated and still regret, He of His omniscience and goodness will overrule the issue to our weal and to the benefit of the human race.